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Institute of Social and Religious Research

AMERICAN VILLAGE STUDIES

Edmund deS. Brunner, Director

AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

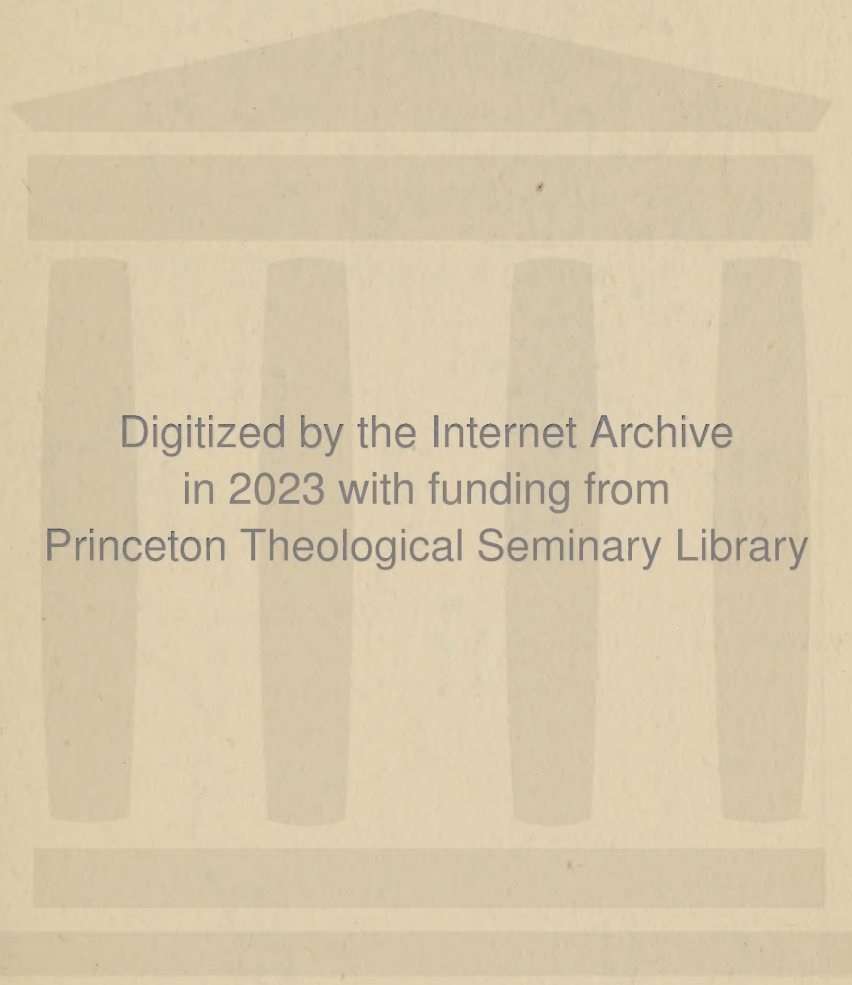
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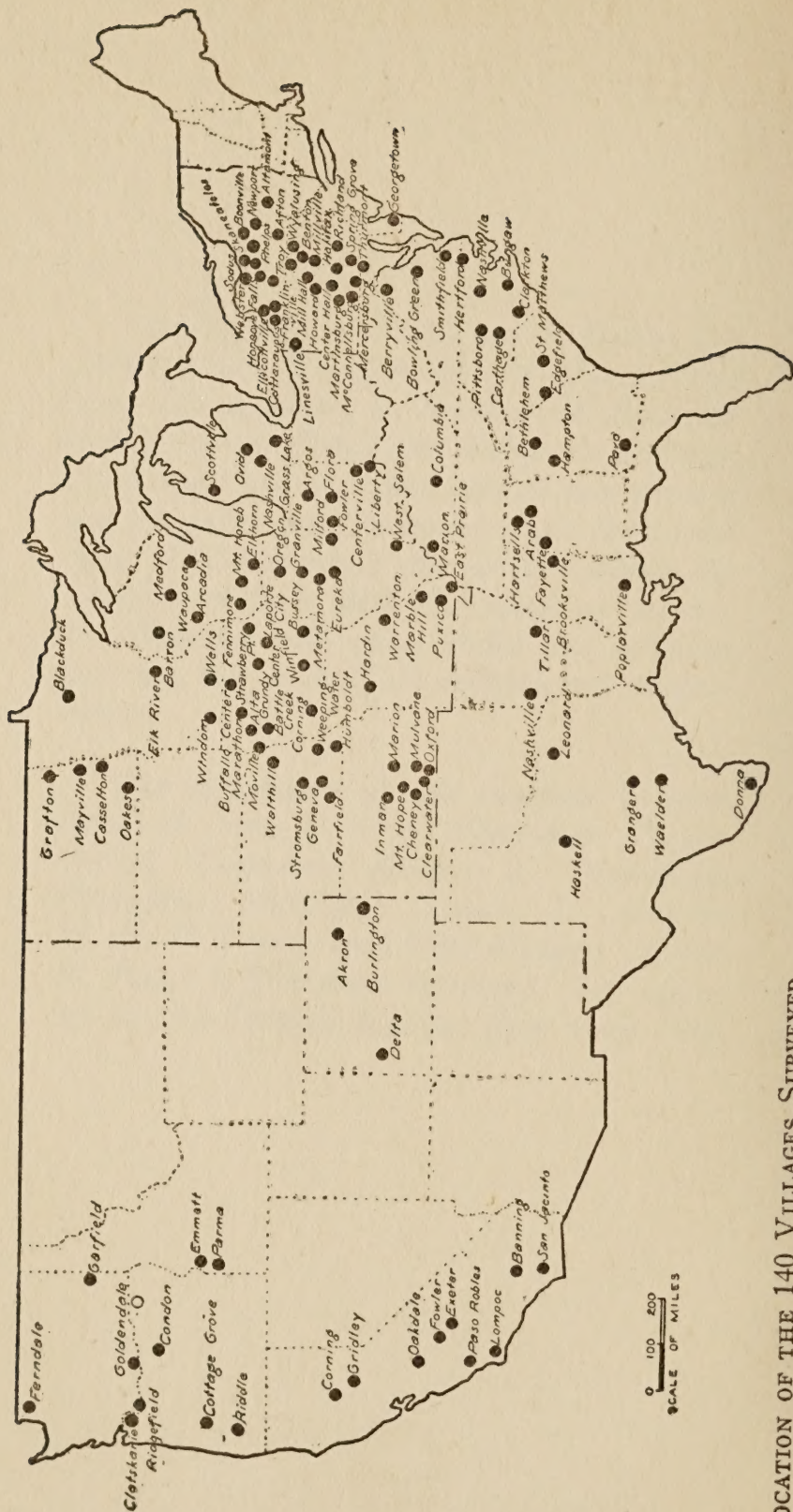
MARJORIE PATTEN

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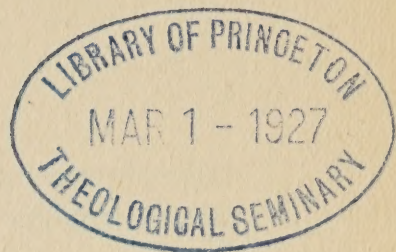
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LOCATION OF THE 140 VILLAGES SURVEYED

AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

BY
EDMUND DES. BRUNNER
GWENDOLYN S. HUGHES
MARJORIE PATTEN



With Charts and Maps



NEW YORK
GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY

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AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES
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INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of the present volume is to assemble and interpret field work data about 140 agricultural villages in the United States.

For the purpose of this investigation, a village has been defined as a place whose population ranges between 250 and 2,500.

By an "agricultural village" is meant one that is located in a strictly farming area and that acts as a service station to the surrounding countryside.

The discussion falls into two main phases: the opening chapters deal with the interrelationship of village and country and attempt not only to show the effect of the recent agricultural depression upon villages, but also to analyze the structure of the village community and to discuss the interrelationships of village and open-country dwellers. The later chapters present in detail data about the economic, social and religious life of villages.

The specific data upon which the volume rests were secured by sending trained investigators to spend from two to three weeks in each of the 140 agricultural villages. These field workers not only secured detailed information about the particular situation and problems found in every village surveyed, but also filled out rather elaborate questionnaires calling for precise quantitative facts about many aspects of village life.

In addition to data for the villages themselves, facts were also secured about the open-country area immediately surrounding the villages, because it was felt that the village cannot be understood by itself. This volume, therefore, attempts to show not only what agricultural villages are like but how they function as service stations for the surrounding countryside. A detailed statement regarding the history and methodology of the study will be found in Appendix A.

The present volume is the third in the series that embodies the results of the Institute's study of American agricultural villages. Two previous volumes have been published: *A Census Analysis of American Villages*, by C. Luther Fry (December, 1925),

which presents a special tabulation of the 1920 Census data on 177 villages, and *American Villagers*, also by Dr. Fry (May, 1926), which attempts to interpret the significance of those data. A summary volume is in preparation which will attempt to synthesize and interpret the entire findings of the study and is designed primarily for classroom use in departments of sociology, in theological seminaries and summer schools. Also based in large part upon data obtained in the course of the Village Study is *United Churches*, by Elizabeth R. Hooker (November, 1926), which deals with problems of local church union in rural America.

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER.

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AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES

CHAPTER I

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS AT THE TIME OF THE STUDY

THIS study of 140 agricultural villages in the United States was made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research at a time when conditions in agricultural areas were disturbed by the readjustment following the World War.

It soon became evident that this abnormal situation was affecting certain aspects of the life of village communities; and that although it was not the purpose to investigate economics, the influence of untoward economic conditions could not be ignored.

As an aid in interpreting the general findings of the study, a résumé of the general agricultural situation is therefore presented, as are also the findings relative to the presence and extent of inflation and depression in the communities visited.

The first of the 140 communities included in the survey of agricultural villages in the United States was visited in May, 1923, and the last in May, 1925. This investigation proceeded from east to west, four geographical units having been covered in the order indicated: Middle Atlantic, South, Middle West and Far West. America's post-war agricultural boom also moved westward across the country, reaching its climax on the Atlantic seaboard in 1920 and on the Pacific Coast in 1921. The degree and celerity of recovery from the precipitous fall in prices after the high point had been reached varied from region to region, as is shown in Chart II. Therefore field work was conducted in the South at a time when land prices in that region were just beginning to show an upward trend, and in the Middle Atlantic and Far West when prices were barely stabilized, while the middle western communities were visited during a period when the fall in prices was continuing. The first section of this chapter deals with the boom which terminated in the crisis of 1920-21; the second part considers the agricultural depression that followed this crisis; and the third part takes up briefly the effect of this depression on community life. The data utilized in this chapter

include the findings of the Institute's field study, supplemented by the preliminary returns of the federal agricultural census of 1925 and other facts available from the Department of Agriculture. In the absence of more precise first-hand information on many points, the following discussion must rely heavily upon such illustrative material as the field investigators believed to be representative of the agricultural situation at the time of the survey.¹

THE BOOM AND THE CRISIS OF 1920

The outbreak of the European war made new demands upon

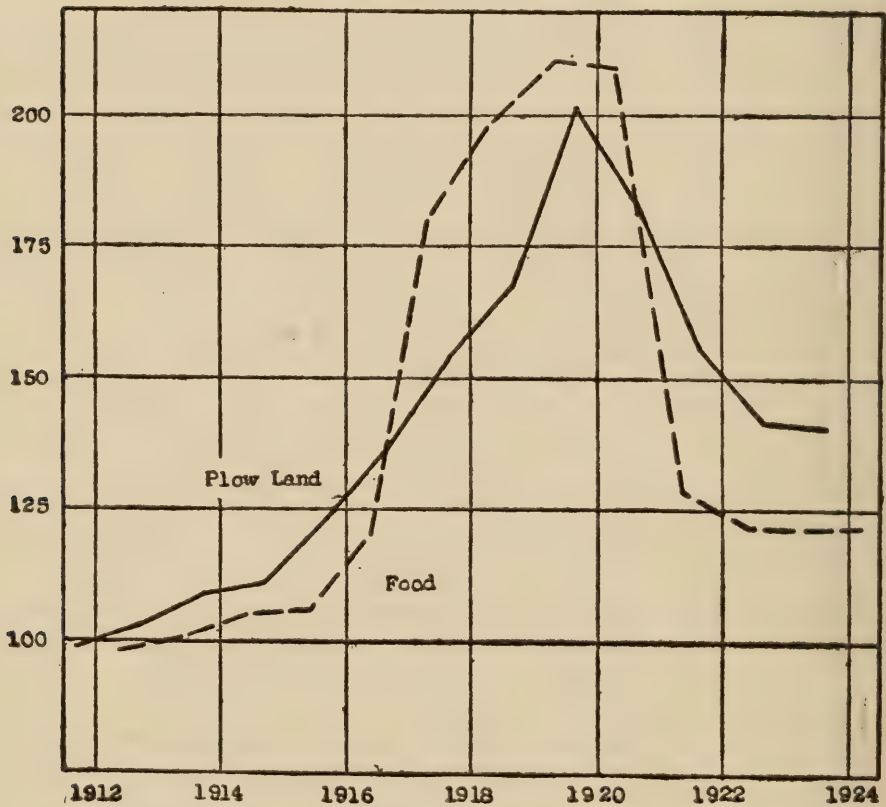


CHART I

Index Numbers of Value of Plow Lands
Per Acre and Prices Paid to Farm-
ers for Food, 1912-1914

American agriculture, and these became ever more pressing as the conflict continued. Competition with foreign producers was

¹ In the Institute's village inquiry no attempt was made to study individual farmers.

materially reduced, prices of farm produce soared and in consequence farming operations were greatly expanded in this country. Discount rates were low, money was easily obtained and the opinion was generally held that American agriculture was destined to feed the impoverished nations of Europe for an indefinite period. Under these circumstances farming not unnaturally

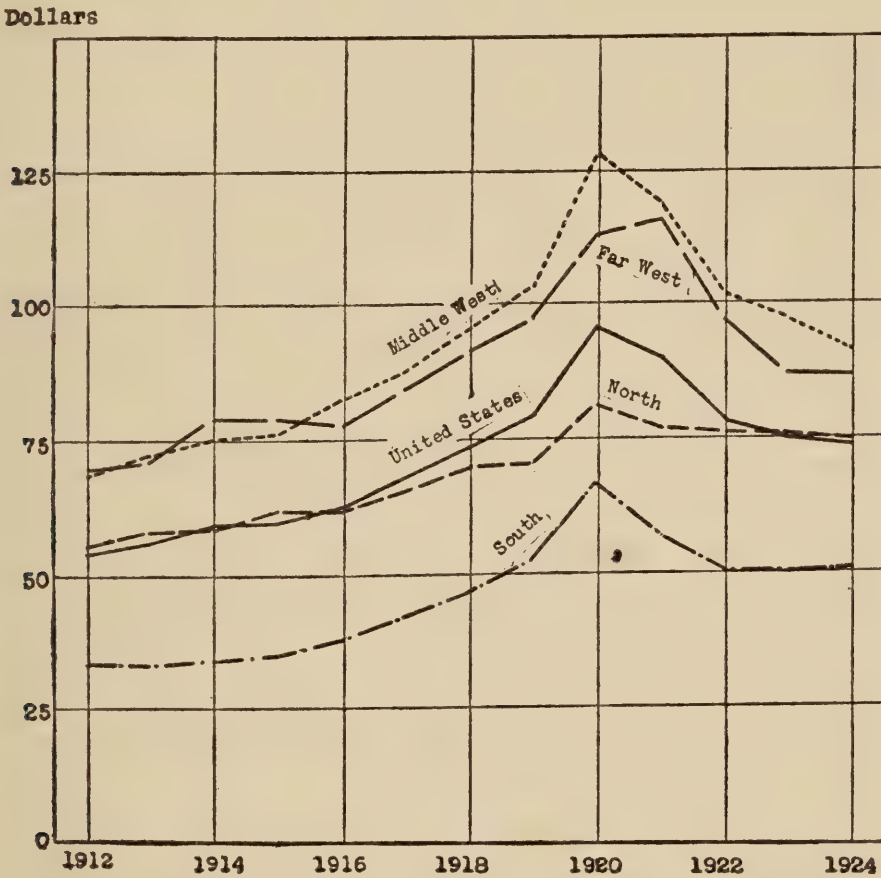


CHART II
Average Value Per Acre of Farm Lands
with Improvements, 1912-1924

appeared a desirable undertaking. In the expectation of continued or even greater prosperity the farmer borrowed money, increased his production, invested in public improvements and raised his family's standard of living.

Land prices rose steadily in response to changing agricultural prices, as shown in Chart I, making their most rapid increase after peace was declared. During this post-war inflation farm

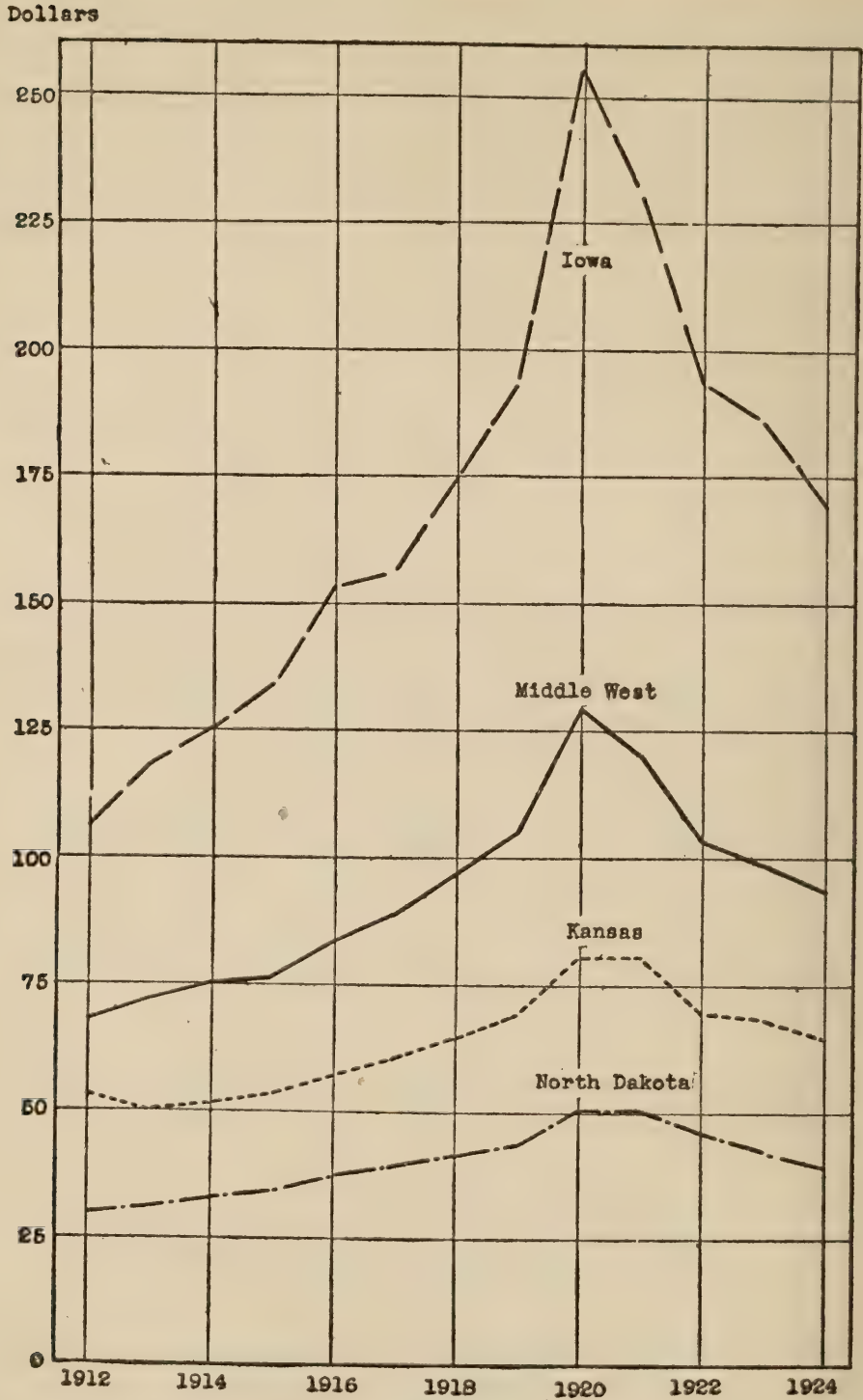


CHART III

Average Value Per Acre of Farm Lands
with Improvements, 1912-1924, in the
Middle West and in Iowa, Kansas,
and North Dakota

land did not go up in price simultaneously in different parts of the country, but rather the movement proceeded from east to west. From 1918 on, as is seen in Chart II, values increased less in the Middle Atlantic and New England states (North) than elsewhere. The peak of land inflation is more marked in the South than it is in these northern states, although the general level of prices is consistently lower. The land boom developed its most serious proportions in the Middle West, for which region the curve is most abrupt. Average values in 1920 were twice as high there as in the South. The high point of the boom was not reached until 1921 in the Far West, but in other respects prices here resemble those in the Middle West.

The movement of land prices is not uniform within regions, as appears in Chart III. Here the actual values per acre of farm lands with improvements are plotted for the entire Middle West and for three states separately, Iowa representing the Corn Belt, Kansas the winter-wheat area, and North Dakota the spring-wheat district. These three state curves depart widely from the average for the total Middle West, Iowa showing consistently higher land values as well as more marked inflation and deflation. Curves for the two other principal corn states, Illinois and Indiana, not reproduced here, fall between the Iowa and the average Middle West lines, with the same characteristics as the former but to a less marked degree. The full significance of the variation in the movement of land values is thus obscured when different crop areas are combined into the large geographical classifications used throughout most of this book.

When grouping villages geographically, the Institute classified the places studied into four regions—Middle Atlantic, South, Middle West and Far West. These regions were obtained by combining the divisional classification of the census on the following basis:

<i>Institute Regions</i>	<i>Census Divisions</i>
Middle Atlantic	Middle Atlantic
South	{ South Atlantic
	{ East South Central
	{ West South Central
Middle West	{ East North Central
	{ West North Central
Far West	{ Mountain
	{ Pacific

For the purposes of this chapter, however, it seemed necessary to discover some other basis for classifying agricultural communities, and a classification of crop areas worked out by O. E. Baker, of the Federal Department of Agriculture, was found to meet the requirements of the case. This plan of classification divides the country into two parts: the eastern half with a sufficient amount of rainfall for agricultural production by ordinary methods, and the western half with less adequate rainfall except in certain districts. Each of these two halves is subdivided into six areas. Those in the East are classified according to temperature and crops grown: (1) hay and pasture, (2) corn, (3) corn and winter wheat, (4) cotton, (5) sub-tropical gulf coast region, (6) spring wheat. In the West, where rainfall and topography determine the nature and amount of agricultural productions, the areas derive their names from their physical features: (1) Great Plains, (2) Rocky Mountain, (3) Arid Intermountain Plateaus, (4) North Pacific, (5) South Pacific, (6) California-Arizona desert region.² Map I shows that the 140 villages studied are scattered widely throughout the country and that ten of the twelve agricultural areas are represented. Some of the outstanding characteristics of these ten areas are listed in Table I.

TABLE I—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Type of Agriculture</i>
Hay and pasture	Dairying the most distinctive type of agriculture. Fruit raising and vegetables important commercial crops, especially on lake shore. Live-stock important in three western states.
Corn	Agriculture uniform throughout area, grain and live stock farming predominates even where dairying and poultry raising are important. Not enough corn raised for farmers' consumption.
Corn and winter wheat	General farming of wheat-corn-oats type with some dairying in eastern half; winter wheat predominates in western part. Dairying gradually introduced. Fruit important in eastern part of area.

² For a detailed analysis of the agricultural products of each agricultural area in 1920, see "A Graphic Summary of American Agriculture," by O. E. Baker in the *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1921*, 407-507. A brief description of the communities visited in each of ten agricultural areas is included as Appendix B of this volume.

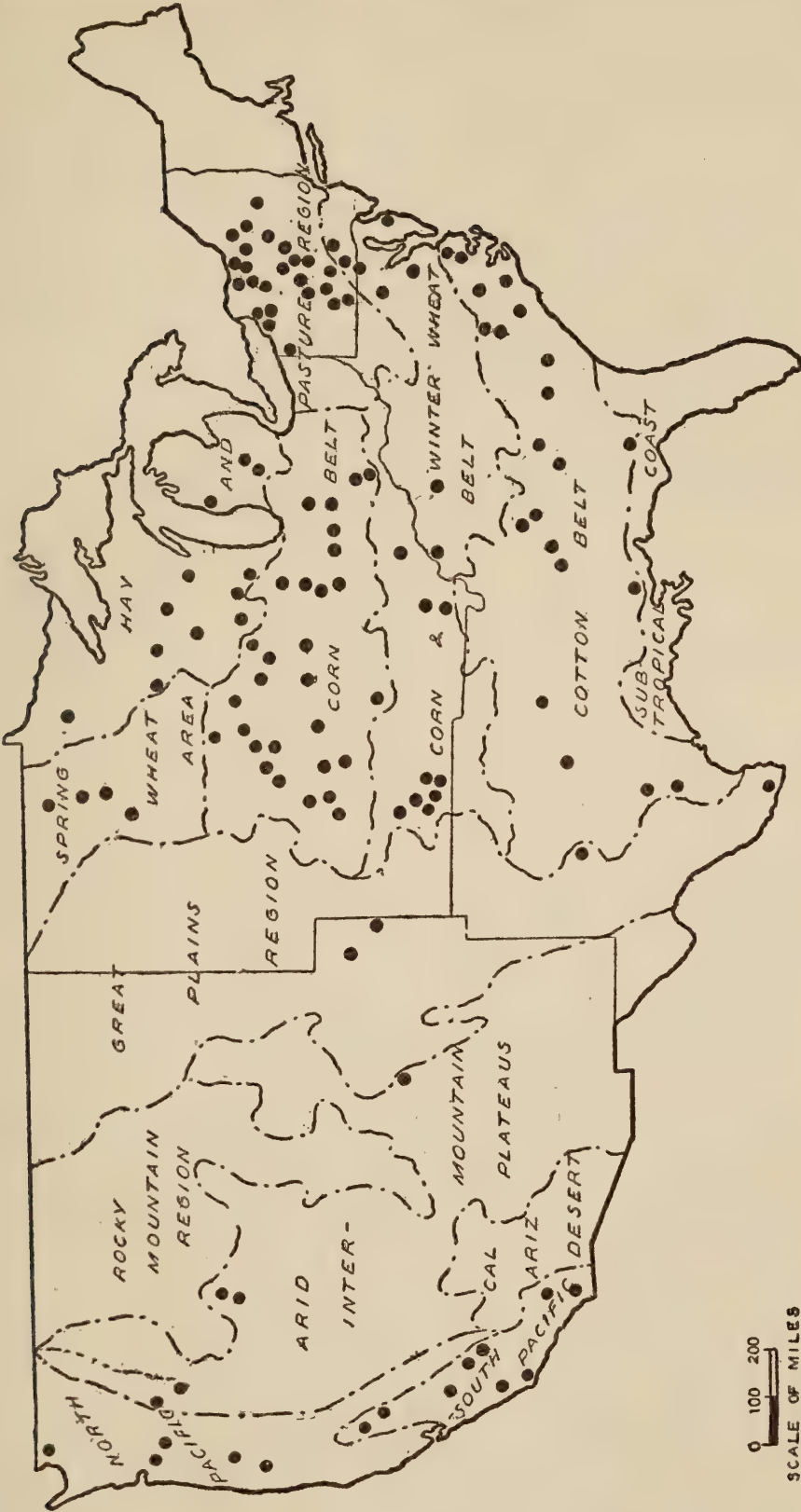
TABLE I—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES—(Continued)

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Type of Agriculture</i>
Cotton	Cotton the money crop throughout this section. Boll weevil ravages have forced greater diversification in some communities. Dairying being introduced. Tobacco, fruits, live stock and lumbering important in some communities.
Spring wheat	Spring wheat, some diversification in the communities studied, especially through live stock and dairying.
Great Plains	Citrus fruits and cotton in southern part with sheep and cattle grazing and wheat fields in the north. Dry farming practiced.
Rocky Mountain and Arid Intermountain Plateaus	Irrigation in some parts and dry farming elsewhere. In irrigated sections fruit raising, dairying and general farming predominate. Wheat and sheep grazing important in dry-farming section.
North Pacific	Agriculture has followed lumbering in much of this section. Several villages visited were still deriving livelihood largely from lumbering. General farming and dairying; none of the fruit areas was visited.
South Pacific	Extremely varied agriculture, practically every place visited specializing in different crops. Fruits predominate, nuts, rice, dairying, and diversified farming found also in sample communities.

The findings of the field investigation concerning changes in land values are limited to the middle-western and far-western sections of the country. In the Corn Belt, for instance, several communities report that land formerly priced at about \$100 or \$150 an acre sold for \$400, while in the corn and winter wheat section values did not go so high, \$200 or \$250 being close to the limit. In one village in the North Pacific area, land that, before the war, was valued at approximately \$60 reached the top, in 1920, at \$200. Some of the specialized districts of the South Pacific area report extremely high prices, examples being \$1,500 an acre in a raisin center, and \$1,000 an acre in a bean-raising community.

The high prices offered for land apparently led to very extensive sales in some communities. The following statement made by a village banker in an Iowa community, less affected by the boom than many surveyed, is illustrative of the speculation in land: "During the peak of land prices and speculation it was not uncommon for a piece of land to change hands three or four

MAP I.—VILLAGES SURVEYED LOCATED
ACCORDING TO CROP AREA



times in several weeks, each agent making as much as a thousand or two on the deal, the selling price reaching \$350 to \$500 an acre. At this time 10 per cent. of the farms changed ownership, many buyers coming from Missouri and Nebraska." In exactly half of the communities from which data were obtained, according to Table II, one or more farms in every ten were sold during the five-year period preceding the community survey. Only two areas, the corn and winter wheat and the cotton belts, fall below this average for the whole group, while no information was secured in the Middle Atlantic states. The communities visited

TABLE II—COMMUNITIES GROUPED BY THE PERCENTAGE OF FARMS SOLD DURING THE LAST 5 YEARS

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Total *</i>	<i>Under 5 Per Cent.</i>	<i>5 to 10 Per Cent.</i>	<i>10 to 20 Per Cent.</i>	<i>20 to 30 Per Cent.</i>	<i>30 Per Cent. and Over</i>
Total	100	17	33	17	17	16
Hay and pasture	12	1	5	1	4	1
Corn	30	2	11	8	4	5
Corn and winter wheat	11	4	3	1	2	1
Cotton	20	5	9	2	3	1
Spring wheat	5	1	1	1	1	1
Great Plains	3	..	..	..	..	3
Rocky Mountain and Inter- mountain Plateaus	6	2	2	2	..	..
North Pacific	5	..	1	..	3	1
South Pacific	8	2	1	2	..	3

* No information available for 28 Middle Atlantic villages and 12 others.

in the Middle and Far West thus show the most extensive sales of land, a circumstance that agrees with the evidence already presented in Chart II, i.e., the western half of the country showed the greatest disturbance of land values immediately before and after 1920.

In each community visited an attempt was made to get a statement as to the kind of settler that came on the land during the boom period. Since, within the limitations of this study, a canvass of each purchaser was out of the question, only general tendencies are shown in Table III. Two-thirds of the entire number of places reporting state that most of the new buyers were local people. To the extent that this was the case the com-

munity cannot justly hold outside buyers responsible for land speculation.

It is apparent from the reports received from other agricultural areas that the Corn Belt farmers overflowed into adjoining regions when land speculation was at its height in their own communities. They seem to have been especially optimistic about the quality of land in other sections of the country, buying it unseen on the assumption that it was just as good as, but cheaper than, their own fertile soil. These Corn Belt buyers came principally from

TABLE III—COMMUNITIES REPORTING THE RESIDENCE OF FARM PURCHASERS DURING THE LAST 5 YEARS

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Total*</i>	<i>Outside Only</i>	<i>Local and Outside</i>	<i>Local Only †</i>
Total	104	19	19	66
Hay and pasture	12	6	3	3
Corn	30	2	6	22
Corn and winter wheat	14	1	4	9
Cotton	23	5	..	18
Spring wheat	5	..	2	3
Great Plains	4	2	2	..
Rocky Mountain and Intermoun- tain Plateaus	4	..	..	4
North Pacific	4	1	..	3
South Pacific	8	2	2	4

* This table excludes 36 communities for which complete information was not obtained, 25 being in the Middle Atlantic Region.

† Local includes same county in 3 cases in hay-and-pasture and cotton areas.

Iowa, but Illinois, Indiana and Ohio are also mentioned among the other states as sources of the incoming populations. The western part of the hay-and-pasture region (data for Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota only available), the spring-wheat region, the Great Plains section and the corn and winter wheat sections report that their outside buyers came largely from the corn-producing states. Farmers in some of these Iowa towns speculated heavily in Missouri farm lands and, according to village gossip, lost large fortunes in this way. "Land speculators from Iowa" are referred to in other sections of the Corn Belt, as well as in neighboring areas, as the chief culprits in spreading the land fever which made every clerk want to put his savings into at least a part of a farm. The practice of "swapping" and increasing holdings by further purchases in the same community was apparently further developed in this area than in any other.

The communities visited in the Rocky Mountain and North

Pacific areas showed no characteristic type of buyer, but foreign-born groups moved into several of the California communities, one especially having gained a large Armenian population from Massachusetts. Another California town reports that its new settlers are Italians from the southern part of the state, while Mormons from Utah and Idaho form the new group in a third community, and a fourth states that its new farmers came in through the colonization activities of a local beet sugar company. In the Cotton Belt the few buyers that came from outside the community were from other states in the northern part of the same agricultural area. The most serious population problem of these farming communities was the wholesale migration of Negroes to the North.

With the constantly increasing pressure from public-spirited citizens to win the war with wheat and the incentive of mounting prices, it is clear why the farmer expanded his operations with

TABLE IV—INDEX NUMBERS OF FARM ACREAGE IN SAMPLE COUNTIES

Data from the Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume VI, Table I
(Acreage for 1900 equals 100)

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Index Number</i>		
	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1925</i>
Hay and pasture	100.4	99.2	94.3
Corn	98.5	96.8	95.9
Corn and winter wheat	99.9	98.6	93.4
Cotton	96.5	91.0	81.3
Spring wheat	100.9	102.6	98.9
Great Plains	129.1	153.4	147.0
Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Plateaus	120.1	131.7	138.3
North Pacific	98.4	100.9	104.1
South Pacific	104.5	109.6	108.4

apparently little thought of the future. This expansion of agriculture, in the counties visited at least, appears not to have taken the form of increased total farm acreage but rather more intensive use of land that had not hitherto been considered worth cultivating. Table IV shows that the gain in acreage in farms in 1920 over 1910 production was limited to the more recently settled sections of the country and that, on the whole, these gains were maintained in 1925.

The more intensive cultivation of farm land in these communities in some instances meant improvement of lands not previ-

ously used, clearing, draining or fertilizing, and in other instances involved the substitution of one crop for another that was thought to yield a greater return. Thus in the Great Plains area pasture lands which had always been covered with wild grasses were broken for wheat, and in one of the South Pacific communities peach trees were dug up and grape vines substituted. Agricultural margins were thus pushed out to increase production and to meet the world's need of food.

The increased acreage of the boom period seems to have been largely planted in wheat. Table V indicates the changes from 1910 to 1925 in wheat production in the counties in which it is one of the three principal crops. In each of these nine areas, except the spring-wheat region, the wheat acreage in 1920 is in excess of the 1910 figures, and the discrepancy is great in all but the hay-and-pasture region. The Great Plains section showed the greatest increase during this decade and is the only area that planted more wheat than in 1920. The following index numbers, based on 1910 figures as one hundred, indicate that wheat supplanted corn during the boom period in the corn and wheat-and-corn country, but that corn was returning to the 1910 figure in 1925.

	<i>Index Numbers Based on 1910 as 100</i>	
	<i>1920</i>	<i>1925</i>
Corn acreage in corn belt	90.2	95.9
Corn acreage in corn and wheat area	49.7	57.3

Although the production of food cereals for Europe was stimulated most during the period of high agricultural prices, the boom was not limited to these crops. Highly specialized products were also affected by the general prosperity as illustrated by the experience of the raisin industry centering in one Californian village. In 1920, when raisins were selling at ten cents a pound and the prospect of fifteen cents seemed good, every possible foot of land was planted. Other fruits were replaced by grapes until the tonnage of peaches was cut down to a fraction of its total in 1919. This whole process, naturally, involved the utilization of marginal land which often was not well located, its soil being of doubtful quality and the water supply difficult to obtain.

Apparently no difficulty in securing funds was experienced by the farmer who wished to increase his agricultural operations

either by buying more land or by adding to his equipment and improvements. Although this point was not followed up in surveying each village and no information was collected to show the amount of loans made to farmers during the period of land speculation, it is significant that very few communities reported any obstacles in the way of getting loans at that time. The conservative policy of the bank in a Corn Belt village is cited by the field worker who visited the community as decidedly unusual in that part of the country: "It is entirely due to the influence of this level-headed banker that this community did not suffer greater loss after the land boom. This institution advised against land

TABLE V—INDEX NUMBERS OF WHEAT ACREAGE IN SAMPLE COUNTIES WHERE WHEAT IS ONE OF THE 3 PRINCIPAL CROPS

Data from the Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume VI, Table IV
(Acreage for 1910 equals 100)

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Index Number</i>	
	1920	1925
Hay and pasture	107.2	96.3
Corn	162.5	90.5
Corn and winter wheat	160.5	140.5
Spring wheat	97.1	62.7
Great Plains	728.6	820.5
Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Plateaus	134.2	104.3
North Pacific	200.9	90.4
South Pacific	214.6	85.1

speculation, refused to make loans and even refused to deliver liberty bonds to be used on payments on land."

It is impossible to estimate what the farmer spent in his prosperous years on improvements which have to be paid for through taxation or contribution during his lean years. Such improvements usually take the form of roads, drainage ditches, irrigation projects, churches, community and school buildings. Most of these expenses were shared with the villager, as a consequence of which the tax burden of the country population cannot be isolated.³

The changes in the private consumption of farmers, reflected in the standard of living maintained by their families, are even more difficult to catch in a community survey than increases in

³ See Chapter IX, for increased expenditures of village governments during the period of agricultural inflation.

their expenditures for public improvements. Extravagances were probably greater in the areas where land values fluctuated most; at any rate the majority of such stories told to the field investigators relate to the western half of the country.⁴

THE AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION

The discussion thus far has followed the farmer in the 140 communities studied to the high point of his prosperity. The prices received for his produce had been mounting increasingly since 1914 and, in light of the reduced circumstances of European agriculture, he saw no reason why they should not continue to mount. The abrupt drop in produce and land prices in 1920, shown in Chart I, found him totally unprepared. He had adjusted himself to a new scale of production and of consumption based largely on borrowed money and future profits. He was suddenly deprived of his high prices, the value of his investment in land fell off alarmingly and he was left with debts and taxes contracted during years of affluence.

A low level of prices for farm products is not, in itself, an evil and not an occasion for agricultural depression. But when the prices paid farmers are lower than those received by other producers the situation becomes critical for the agriculturist. Farmers in general are suffering financial stringency to-day because their prices are out of joint. The goods they sell bring a low return, while their expenses, based on the cost of commodities consumed, taxes, interest on debts and wages paid to labor, are relatively high. The decrease in the real income of the farmer is evident from Charts IV and V, which show that since the crisis of 1920 agricultural prices have been stabilized at a far lower level than all commodity prices. Farm prices for food in 1923 were 22 per cent. above pre-war prices, while wholesale prices of all commodities exceeded the pre-war level by 57 per cent. The price of all farm products, which differ from the food products

⁴ A controversy exists as to the extent to which the farmer was extravagant. The following comment by a field worker on one corn belt community could be duplicated with slight variation in a number of others: "The farmer was not satisfied with one car but bought two and three; he and his family formed habits of luxury which are hard to break now; there are the usual stories of the cows not being milked and the nightly trips to town."

On the other hand, Governor Hammill, writing on "The Farmer's Business" (*Review of Reviews*, November, 1926) denies that the element of speculation affected any large proportion of Iowa farmers.

principally in that they include cotton, have improved slightly since 1923.⁵

The farmer is unable to adjust his expenses to his income, either by increasing his income or by reducing his costs. If he

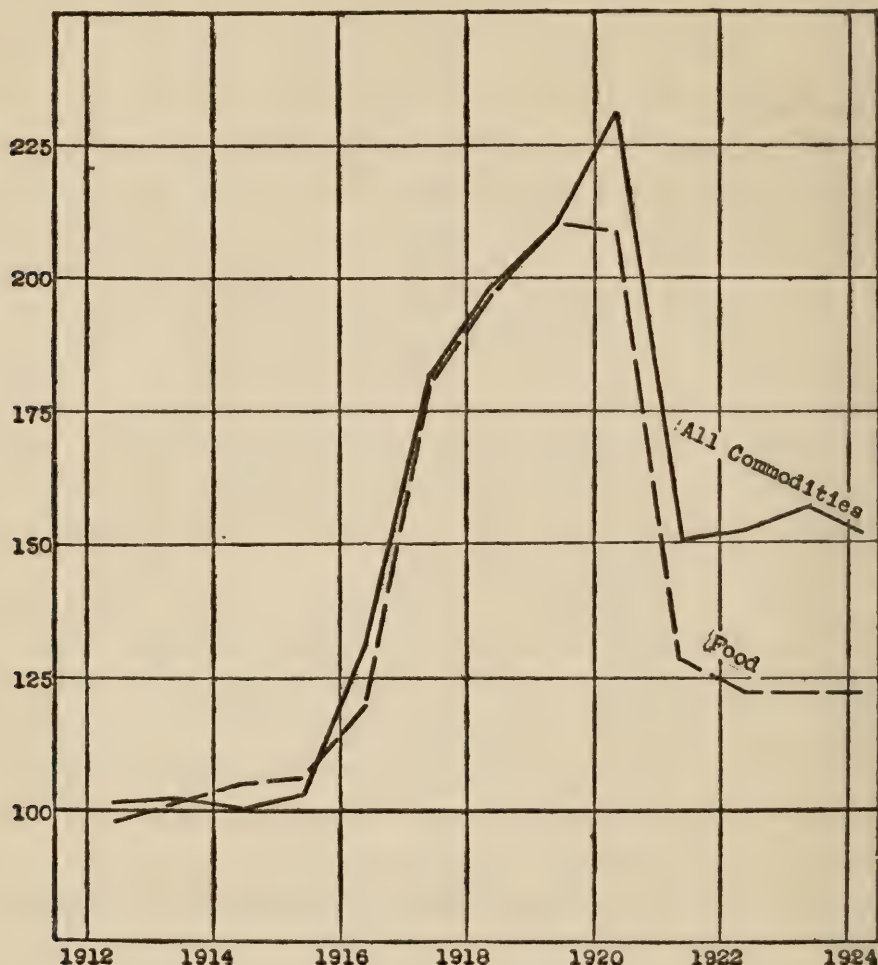


CHART IV

Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices of
All Commodities in the United States
and Prices Paid to Farmers for
Food

enlarged his output the result, under present conditions of demand, would be overproduction and a further drop in agricultural prices. Present agricultural methods make him dependent upon a money income by stimulating the consumption of commodities

⁵ See Warren and Pearson, *The Agricultural Situation*, Chapter VIII.

such as fertilizer, lime, drains and certain types of machinery. If he abandons these improvements he loses the money previously invested. Neither can he close down his business because his

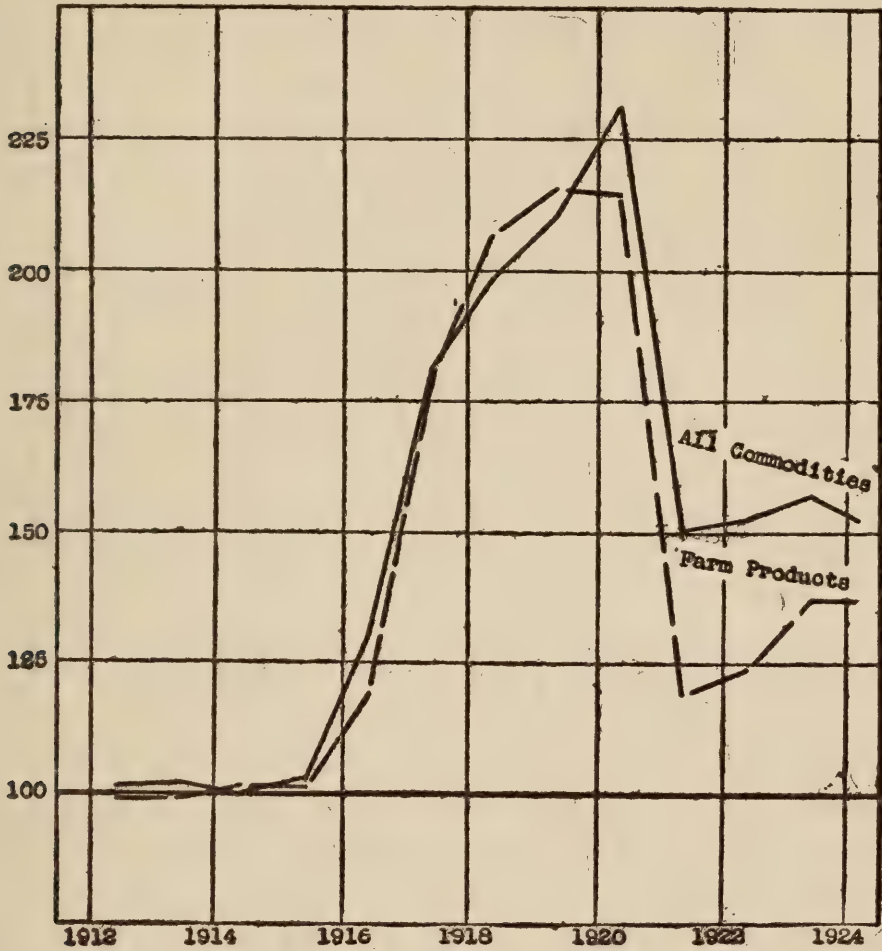


CHART V

Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices of
All Commodities in the United States
and Prices Paid to Farmers for
Farm Products

fixed charges, taxes and interest, must be met and his live stock must be fed whether farming pays or not.

It is extremely difficult to get accurate information about the present financial status of the farmer. In every community visited an effort was made to discover the average net cash income of representative agriculturists, but the attempt was not suc-

cessful. The farmer has not been accustomed to careful cost-accounting, and he cannot tell exactly where he stands. No end of instances were found of the complete failure of individual farmers, while occasionally moderate financial success was indicated, but reports of prosperity extending throughout a community were seldom if ever made to the field investigators.

As the survey of agricultural communities proceeded from east to west the situation of the farmer became worse and worse, not because his prices were lower or his crop smaller, but because his current expenditures were necessarily greater, owing to his investments during the boom. The expansion of production required extensive improvements in some communities, paid for either by the individual or by the taxpayers, while in others land speculation involved mortgages and future payments. These are important factors in the low net return from farming at the present time. In a Corn Belt community where farms were paying 8 per cent. on the investment in 1919 it is now said to cost \$20 an acre to pay interest on the first mortgage and the taxes, to say nothing of getting a return on the investment. Practically all of the farms in this neighborhood are reported to be mortgaged, some of them as high as \$80 an acre. It is impossible to estimate how far this condition is duplicated elsewhere.

The consequence of expanding production by utilizing sub-marginal land already in farms is clearly illustrated by several of the villages studied. In a Minnesota community, for example, it was found that many county ditches had been dug for drainage of swamp lands and that farmers were paying high ditch taxes and getting nothing from the land thus improved. In the Great Plains region large flocks of sheep were being driven for pasture because wild grass had not yet grown on the land broken for wheat during the boom. It is said that in Colorado it will take ten years for the wild grass to grow in again.

The extensive purchase of land at inflated prices accounts for the magnitude of the disaster when values made the sudden drop shown in Chart I. The story that comes from community after community in the western half of the country, with but slight variation, presents the plight of the man who bought land at a high price, expecting to pay for the farm from the proceeds of his future crops. A specific case, a community in Iowa where land values did not reach the high point reported elsewhere, shows

the trend of these reports: "Land which sold for \$250 to \$275 an acre can produce at the very most, under normal price conditions, only a fair return on an investment of \$125 or \$150 an acre. On a forty-five-year average an acre here produces only twenty-six bushels of corn and twelve bushels of wheat. The men who bought at high prices are trying to pay for their farms when farm produce is at its lowest, while their production is no greater than during the pre-war period. The average farmer in this section is as badly off as elsewhere in Iowa."

The virtual absence of land sales during the year preceding the survey shows clearly that there was no market for farms at any price. In seventy of the one hundred communities reporting, less than 5 per cent. of the farms had been sold within twelve months. In fifteen of these communities there were no sales whatever, and in twenty-eight it was estimated that only 1 per cent. of the farms changed hands.

Some farmers are holding on to their land, wondering how long they are going to be able to pay the interest on their indebtedness, others have lost their farms to the original owners or to the bank that took the mortgage, while still others have taken advantage of the bankruptcy laws of their respective states.⁶ No figures are available for these 140 communities to show how extensively farms were lost, but numerous cases are cited. In one Corn Belt community it is said that in the six weeks between Christmas and the first of February, 1925, a local rich man took back twenty-eight farms on which payments could not be continued. In a spring-wheat community it was said that there had been more foreclosures in that vicinity during the two years preceding the survey than in the last two decades. In an Iowa community the surveyors were told that there had been only one foreclosure since the boom, but that there would be more before another spring. About twenty farmers had been declared bankrupt here, although there was some feeling in the community that such action was not justified. It is said that at the time of the local bank failure a few of the most radical farmers went through the county preaching bankruptcy as an easy way out of their difficulties. After losing their farms some continued as tenants or farm laborers in the same community or elsewhere, while many

⁶ See Wallace, H. C. *The Wheat Situation: A Report to the President*, p. 103, for data showing that more than 25 per cent. of 94,000 farmers in fifteen wheat-producing states were insolvent in 1923.

are said to have left to find work in industrial centers. The departure of these unsuccessful farmers is leaving farms vacant in some places.

The differences in percentages of tenancy in counties represented by these 140 communities in 1925 compared with 1900 and the two decades following suggest that agricultural depression may be an important element in farm ownership in some crop areas. Table VI shows that in three regions, hay-and-pasture, North and South Pacific areas, tenancy has not only not gained but has decreased more in the last five years than in the preceding twenty. These three areas were among those relatively little affected by the agricultural depression.⁷ In the corn and winter-wheat region tenancy has remained practically stationary through-

TABLE VI—FARM TENANCY IN SAMPLE COUNTIES AND IN COMMUNITIES

County data from the Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume VI, Table I, and Preliminary Report of the 1925 Farm Census of the United States Department of Commerce

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Farms Operated by Tenants in</i>				
		<i>Counties</i>		<i>Communities</i>	
	<i>1900</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1925</i>	<i>*</i>
Hay and pasture	23.0	21.1	20.1	17.4	22.5
Corn	38.3	42.2	43.4	46.6	43.6
Corn and winter wheat	36.7	37.3	37.2	36.5	35.7
Cotton	52.7	55.9	56.3	59.3	53.0
Spring wheat	15.9	23.8	29.7	35.1	34.6
Great Plains	27.2	27.9	26.5	45.1	34.2
Rocky Mountain and Inter- mountain Plateaus	18.1	17.3	26.8	29.4	32.3
North Pacific	15.0	12.3	15.6	12.7	16.1
South Pacific	22.2	15.8	17.7	12.8	14.0

* Data gathered over a period extending from May, 1923, to May, 1925.

out this twenty-five-year period. In all other areas, however, there are proportionately more tenant-operated farms than there were twenty-five years ago. In the Great Plains section, which has suffered seriously as a result of the depression, the proportion of tenants increased more in the last five years than in the twenty years before. In the corn and cotton belts the last half decade shows a greater gain than was made between 1910 and 1920, and the same is virtually true of the spring-wheat counties visited. The decrease in the Cotton Belt is probably accounted for largely

⁷ See Appendix B.

by the abandonment of farms due to the boll weevil and to Negro migrations, but large numbers of farms in the Great Plains, the corn and the spring-wheat sections lost the ownership of their farms as a result of the land boom.

In a period of falling agricultural prices farming is discredited as a means of earning one's living. The country population, under such circumstances, is left with no other source of income, since agriculture is practically the only occupation open to it. It must be borne in mind, however, that the present dissatisfaction with agriculture reported to the field investigators is not entirely due to changes in price levels. A part of it is chronic, while in a few communities the situation of the farmer was aggravated at the time of the survey by such factors as the boll weevil, local droughts, crop failures, cyclones, and soil exhaustion, to say nothing of speculation in worthless stock and other unwise expenditures.

EFFECT OF DEPRESSION UPON VILLAGES

The agricultural depression undoubtedly affected conditions in the villages studied, and therefore a discussion of it here is important. Unfortunately, many of its effects cannot be precisely ascertained, because no corresponding facts are obtainable for normal periods. The villagers were able, however, to compare in a general way local conditions before and after the fall in farm prices. While their observations are probably limited to the more obvious manifestations of the depression period, these have the advantage of having been gained at first hand.

The village is affected by the low state of agriculture not because its population is engaged in agriculture but because prosperity of the trade center depends to a considerable degree upon prosperity of the surrounding farm areas. When the farmer cannot pay his loans the village bank from which he borrowed is embarrassed and may even fail. When farmers cannot buy, the village merchant's sales fall off.

Bank failures in these 140 communities since 1920, although numerous, probably do not indicate the full extent of financial disturbance. In one Minnesota town, for instance, a recently established fourth bank was saved from failure through the coöperation of the other banks in the community. Four of the

thirty-one Corn Belt villages reporting experienced one or more failures.⁸ These bank failures following the post-war boom are variously accounted for by the villagers. There is usually a difference of opinion as to the responsibility of the individual banker for the crash. The excessive loans, often granted without security, were probably sufficient cause for these catastrophes.

Since 1920 business houses have also failed, credit has been restricted by local merchants, and times have been "hard" generally in many of these 140 villages. The restricted purchasing power of the farmer, the frozen loans and occasional bank failures have combined to bring about this situation. Vacant store buildings, limitations on the extension of credit and lack of new enterprises constitute the most frequently reiterated symptoms of financial depression in villages. The situation in one of the villages in the Intermountain Plateau probably is as extreme as any observed: "The business of the town is in a critical condition. It has been reported for some time that one garage is about to fail; one meat market has failed; a number of other stores are barely hanging on; it was reported the day the surveyors left that another store had closed its doors; one store which has been in business more than twenty years has \$100,000 on its books from just one neighborhood alone." A far more hopeful attitude is reflected in a Nebraska community, where it was said that the wheat crop of 1925 was the best the farmers had ever had and that in consequence the farmers were beginning to spend a little more freely.

The proportion of the village population that depends upon farm income in the form of rent or shares is seriously affected by the recent disturbance in agriculture. A good illustration of this situation was reported in a village of the corn and winter-wheat area to which many farmers retired after the war. Now that prices have declined the tenant can scarcely pay his rent and the share crop is not enough to support a family in town. Both families, the owner's and the renter's, are thus left in a difficult position, trying to live on the proceeds of a single farm. Other

⁸ Fred L. Garlock, "Bank Failures in Iowa," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* II: 49-62, Jan., 1926. "The failure of approximately one-tenth of all Iowa banks is by no means a normal mortality; it has provoked a searching inquiry into the conditions which have brought about the downfall of these institutions and is responsible for a considerable amount of legislation enacted with the object of strengthening the banking system of the state in such a manner as to render it less susceptible to the recurrence of similar conditions in the future."

farmers who have moved to the village find that they are only nominally "retired." They discover that they stopped working too early under present conditions and that the cost of living in the village is higher than they expected. In one New York village, for instance, it is said that many farmers retire on a principal of \$10,000 or \$12,000, buy a house and expect to live on the income from the remainder. When they see that they cannot do so they begin to work at low wages, underbidding the workmen of the village.

The depression in agriculture resulting from the crisis of 1920 has also probably affected these 140 village communities in many ways which it is impossible to indicate; but enough data have been presented to demonstrate that at the time this study was made economic conditions in villages were somewhat abnormal.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

THE last chapter showed that the depression in agriculture had influenced certain aspects of village life. This conclusion clearly indicates that the economic conditions in the village and the economic conditions of the surrounding countryside are closely interrelated. This is a basic assumption underlying the Institute's field work.

The Institute's investigators were instructed to ascertain in their field work not only what agricultural villages are like, but how they function as service stations for the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside. The present chapter, therefore, deals with the agricultural village and the country area it serves, rather than with the village as an isolated entity. The facts presented will not only show that the assumption of interdependence between village and open country is well founded, but will indicate the extent and character of this interdependence.

The first step will be to find the area affected by these interrelationships, or, in other words, to determine the village "community boundaries," since the term "village community" is generally applied to the village and the rural territory coming within its sphere of influence.

Imagine yourself in a small agricultural center of from 250 to 2,500 inhabitants, which is the population range of a village as defined by the Institute. If the village is incorporated—as are all the villages included in this study—it is easy to ascertain the precise geographic boundaries since they are accurately defined in the articles of incorporation.

Around the agricultural village itself extend open-country areas occupied by farmers. The near-by inhabitants of these open-country areas turn almost invariably to the village as a service station, but the greater the distance from the village, the less likely are the inhabitants to use its services until, finally, a point is reached where the majority of the open-country inhabitants look to some other center.

It, therefore, becomes obvious that the problem of ascertaining the precise boundaries of any village community is not easy. Thus it is not strange to find that, despite the enthusiasm with which the "community idea" has been welcomed, no widely accepted method of delimiting a "community" has yet been agreed upon.

DETERMINING COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES

The present investigators of American village life decided to start their study of village communities by ascertaining how the people themselves delimited this area. The tenet was accepted that the community has definite geographic limits and a life of its own justifying the inhabitants in calling it theirs.

The method of discovering this community area was simple, and followed a technique not original to this study. Map in hand, the surveyor asked the villagers from whom information was desired to point out how far into each section of the contiguous rural territory they or their organizations served a majority of the people. This question was put to bankers, merchants, managers of elevators, creameries and coöperatives of various kinds, as well as to doctors, lawyers, school principals, editors and officers of social organizations and others. Exceptional services, such as those performed by furniture stores, music stores and the like, and limited to a few villages, were excluded. Church parishes were also determined, though in this case lines were drawn to include the residence of the member living farthest away on each road. In certain communities the total areas of social and economic services were also worked out for comparative purposes.

The information thus received was checked in one or more ways. First, by house-to-house interviews with people living on the fringes of the area. Second, by questions asked in certain of the outlying schools. Third, by information received from county farm bureau agents, county superintendents of education and leaders of farm organizations. Fourth, by comparison in a few cases with information received from surrounding villages as to the extent of their own service areas.

With this information before him the surveyor drew a line for each service offered by the village, and from these lines the "community" line was then constructed to include the area within which a majority of the people were served by the social,

economic, and religious institutions or organizations of the village.¹ Thus a "village community" has been considered in this study as the population of that area in which a majority of the people are served by a majority of the social, economic and religious services of the village, and the "community boundary," as defined by the Institute, is not representative of any single service. It may be considered an average of all the service lines, sometimes the modal line. On the other hand, the community line so determined frequently coincided with important service areas, as later discussion in this chapter will show.

The procedure adopted for determining the community area was derived partly as the result of experimentation in the first region surveyed in this investigation, and partly from knowledge acquired in previous studies by the Institute and others. It took into account the three following points²:

- (1) The attitude and testimony of the people themselves;
- (2) The trade areas of the village's economic and professional services;
- (3) The degree of association between village and country in other than trade interests.

¹ Since this definition was arrived at and after this chapter was written a pamphlet entitled "Rural Population Groups," by Prof. H. L. Morgan and Owen Howells, has been issued by the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri, in which the authors speak of "a fused community." This fused community they determine very much as the community boundaries in this study were fixed. In neither case does the community boundary represent a "single service" line.

² In selecting these factors the contribution of previous students in this field was utilized. Ten years ago Galpin in his *Rural Life* arrived at a definition of the village community in terms of its trade area. The first rural studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research showed the need for a modification of this definition, especially in the South where instances were discovered of wide divergence between social and economic areas. At the same time Kolb, working like Galpin in Wisconsin, demonstrated (in *Service Relations of Town and Country*) that the trade area definition had to be further elucidated since there were fluctuations, sometimes considerable, in the services extended by the different economic and trade lines located in the same town. Sanderson, in New York, arrived at a definition for the community approaching that reached in this investigation (see *The Farmer and His Community*, pp. 7-11). The psychological element was not given the weight in this study that might seem desirable to those who would eliminate the geographical factor entirely. It would have been fascinating, for instance, to trace the psychological influence of some rich village landowner, who combined the offices of bank director and club member in his home town with wider social interests in Florida or California during the winter, but it was not practicable. For even such a landowner, if asked to name his community, would name the place where he lived, where most of his more intimate associations clustered, where much of his personal property was located, and in so doing would impliedly recognize his social obligations to that place. But such landowners are exceptional. Most people are not wealthy and are very much limited by the place where they live. The school their children attend, the church they themselves go to, the bank, movies, as well as all social organizations—these must be centered within easy reach of their homes. On the practical side, if some families prefer to be in a community but not of it, the agencies mentioned seek them out and attempt to draw them in.

The method of determining the community boundaries of a village makes it clear that for purposes of this study a village community includes not only the inhabitants of the village itself but of adjacent open-country areas as well.³ It is proposed in the following pages of this chapter to compare the areas of village communities and to study the distribution of population within those areas.

Throughout this discussion of community areas it should be borne in mind that community boundaries are not fixed for all time. The social changes affecting the pull of villages are considerable and constantly operative. The data, however, are believed to be sufficient to show trends.

VILLAGE COMMUNITY AREAS

Village community areas show marked differences in size in the different regions. The Middle Atlantic states have the smallest community areas; next in size are those of the South and Middle West, which are almost the same and average twice the size of community areas in the Middle Atlantic; while the largest are found in the Far West.

TABLE VII—AVERAGE COMMUNITY AREA IN SQUARE MILES BY SIZE OF VILLAGE

<i>Region</i>	<i>All Villages</i>	<i>Small Villages</i>	<i>Medium Villages</i>	<i>Large Villages</i>
Middle Atlantic	47.22	37.72	46.21	80.61
South	98.73	63.09	106.02	127.07
Middle West	101.37	81.53	95.93	144.71
Far West	239.84	118.70 *	345.56	213.28

* Here the average does not give a strictly accurate idea of the situation. If the areas of two small villages, one in Idaho and one in Colorado, were omitted the average area of the small villages in the three Pacific Coast states would be 46.6 square miles.

These results are not surprising. Villages in the Middle Atlantic states were founded in the days of the oxcart and the dirt road when travel was laborious and restricted, and many of them reached their peak in population before the Civil War. The South, with its plantation system, did not feel the need of village

³ This definition makes it apparent that certain open-country inhabitants may not be included within any village community because, for example, they live in a locality where the majority of the people do not utilize the services of one village more than those of another.

service, for the plantations were units sufficient unto themselves.⁴ The county seat alone was needed. Only with the break up of the plantation system have the southern villages emerged. They are fewer in number in proportion to the territory included in their region; and therefore each village, other things being equal, has the opportunity to spread its influence over a larger area than would otherwise be the case. In the two western areas there are wide variations within each region. In the older Middle West the areas of individual villages are but slightly in excess of those of villages in the Middle Atlantic states, though in the newer sections, where villages are fewer, the areas are larger.

The areas were determined from the field workers' maps by the aid of a polar planimeter, which is a mechanical device for measuring with accuracy the areas of irregular figures.

The range in size of the areas of the 139 village communities is shown in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII—RANGE IN AREA OF COMMUNITIES

<i>Area in Square Miles</i>	<i>All* Regions</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Far West</i>
Total	139	27	30	60	22
Under 100	85	25	18	32	10
<i>Under 25</i>	8	7	1	..	..
<i>25 to 50</i>	32	12	6	8	6
<i>50 to 75</i>	22	4	5	11	2
<i>75 to 100</i>	23	2	6	13	2
100 to 200	37	2	8	24	3
<i>100 to 150</i>	29	1	7	20	1
<i>150 to 200</i>	8	1	1	4	2
200 to 300	10	..	4	4	2
300 and over	7	..	..	..	7

* One community in the Middle Atlantic omitted because of incomplete information.

FACTORS AFFECTING COMMUNITY AREAS

Many factors are responsible for the differences in the size of community areas. Among the most important are topography, size of village population, predominant crops, size of farms, kind of roads leading to village, proximity to city, and whether the village is also a county seat.

The factor of topography is apparent in every region, though

⁴ For a fuller discussion of this point see Fry, C. Luther, *American Villagers*, in this same series of American Village Studies.

least so in the Middle West. Mountains, hills, forest reserves, lakes and rivers set natural bounds to many communities, sometimes in ways that are hard for individual villages to overcome. Such factors are easily determined, for their influence is at once apparent and even minor topographical features are sometimes very effective. A hill will often determine to which center a farm family goes. Thus in the case of one village, a long acute angle juts out in a service area otherwise of regular formation. This angle represents a group of families living along the top of a long hill that slopes toward the village. In another case, that of an old New York village, a long gulch has become the boundary. This gulch could easily be bridged, but in the early days it was a serious barrier and now custom has become fixed.

TABLE IX—COMMUNITY AREA OF COUNTY- AND NON-COUNTY-SEAT VILLAGES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>County-Seat</i>		<i>Non-County-Seat</i>	
		<i>Under 100 Square Miles</i>	<i>Over 100 Square Miles</i>	<i>Under 100 Square Miles</i>	<i>Over 100 Square Miles</i>
All regions	139	16	25	69	29
Middle Atlantic	27 *	2	..	23	2
South	30	8	8	10	4
Middle West	60	5	12	27	16
Far West	22	1	5	9	7

* One village in the Middle Atlantic omitted because of incomplete information.

The size of the population of a village itself is also a factor. For the purposes of this study villages have been divided into small, medium and large-size groups. Small villages have from 250 to 1,000 population, medium from 1,000 to 1,750, and large from 1,750 to 2,500. As a rule the large village pushes its line of influence farther into the country than does the small. This is but natural because the larger villages perform more varied functions.⁵ Thus it happens that except in the case of medium-size villages in the Far West, large villages have larger community areas than other villages have. This was shown in Table VII.

Another factor influencing the size of a community area is the fact of its being a county seat. It is natural that in this case the area should be large, since in the first place the county seat is apt

⁵ See Fry, *American Villagers*, Chapter VII, and Kolb, *Service Relations of Town and Country*.

to be located in a large village, and further, the whole country is tributary to it for all legal purposes. Hence the figures given in Table IX need no further comment.

The factor of crop, with which is related the size of farms, also has a real influence. Small groups of villages, where the factors of topography and proximity to cities did not appear, were selected from the corn, wheat and fruit belts encompassing Iowa, North Dakota and California respectively. The average extent of the community area in square miles was computed for each of these three groups and compared with open-country population and density, with the results shown in Table X.

TABLE X—AVERAGE AREA OF COMMUNITIES AND AVERAGE COUNTRY POPULATION

<i>Crop Area</i>	<i>Number of Villages*</i>	<i>Average Area of Community (Sq. Mi.)</i>	<i>Average Country Population</i>	<i>Persons per Square Mile</i>
Corn	10	80.0	1,640	20.5
Wheat	9	294.4	1,908	6.5
Citrus	6	40.0	1,443	36.1

* The communities selected for this table were as nearly as possible one-crop communities. These figures, therefore, vary slightly from those in Appendix B, in which all villages in a total crop area were considered.

It will be observed that the extent of a community in the wheat belt is seven times greater than that of a community in a fruit-growing district, while the density of population in the latter case is six times that of the former. There are no reasons connected with transportation or topography why the Californian communities should not be larger. The average number of farmers served does not greatly vary regardless of the size of the village. This is largely because other centers spring up, each serving its own closely integrated group of farmers.

PROXIMITY OF CITIES

It is surprising to find to what an extent a near-by city limits the size of the area of a village community. In the Middle Atlantic states the average area of rural communities within 15 miles of a city with a population of 25,000 or more was 9.9 square miles, as against an average area of 47.2 square miles for all communities of this region. Every region investigated shows

similar contrasts; and it is noteworthy that villages offer fewer services when near cities, though some, accepting the situation, exercise greater selectivity in these services and seek to perform them exceptionally well. They are not so interested in the length and breadth of their community area as they are in increasing the demand for such services as they offer.

In addition to the trends that can be shown statistically, there are other tendencies that seem to emerge from the data. The location of the consolidated school in a village seems to increase the size of the community area, especially when there is a social program drawing the farm parents to the school. A successful popular school attracts people of the new districts which soon become part of the community area.

The village has to struggle to hold its influence in the area when better roads or improved trolley and bus service enable the farmer to reach still larger centers in approximately the same time it formerly took him to reach the village. Particularly is this true when the village has fallen behind the farmer's rising standard of living. The location of a chain store in one village and not in another tends to contract the community area of the one that failed to get the store.

COMPARISON OF PARTICULAR SERVICE AREAS WITH COMMUNITY AREAS

To find out more precisely what is the significance of the village community area, an effort was made to compare it with certain other service areas of a more particularized sort. Those selected for special study were (1) business, (2) professional, (3) school and (4) church.

The business services were further subdivided into banking, general trade and hardware. By "general trade" was understood trade carried on by so-called village department stores. Where there were none, groceries were substituted. Hardware was selected as representative of specialized services such as furniture and clothing, because almost every village has at least one hardware store. No other type of specialized utility store was so generally found.

The villages compared can be classified under three heads: (1) Those in which the trade area was larger than the community

area; (2) those in which the trade area was smaller than the community area; (3) those in which the two areas approximated. An area was considered to be approximately the same as the community area when it varied from it by not more than 10 per cent.

The result of the analysis on this basis showed a surprising

TABLE XI—COMPARISON BETWEEN SELECTED ECONOMIC SERVICE AREAS AND COMMUNITY AREA

Service	Total *	Villages Whose Economic Service Areas Are		
		Larger	Same	Smaller
Middle Atlantic				
Banking	25	13	11	1
General trade	27	9	13	5
Hardware	25	10	13	2
Professional	27	12	12	3
South				
Banking	28	20	8	..
General trade	29	17	9	3
Hardware	28	19	9	..
Professional	30	12	10	8
Middle West				
Banking	52	29	18	5
General trade	57	30	21	6
Hardware	58	41	13	4
Professional	55	29	13	13
Far West				
Banking	22	15	6	1
General trade	22	8	14	..
Hardware	22	8	14	..
Professional	22	11	6	5

* The number of cases in this table does not agree with the number of villages surveyed because measurements were not always obtainable and because not all villages had all services. This table includes 27 villages in the Middle Atlantic, 30 in the South, 60 in the Middle West and 22 in the Far West.

number of cases in which the special service areas approximated that of the community area.⁶

The detailed results for business and professional services used in the comparison are set down in Table XI.

In half the 77 villages in which the area served by the banks was larger than the community area, the banking area was found to be at least twice the size of the community area, and in eighteen

⁶ It must be remembered, as the maps at the end of this chapter show, that the boundaries of service areas do not invariably coincide with community boundaries although the areas of each may be approximately equal.

instances it was three times the size or even larger. With some variations this was also true of areas for the other two business services, and it was especially true for the professional services—those of doctors, lawyers, dentists and veterinarians. When these service areas were larger than the community area they were almost always much larger. A partial explanation for this may lie in the unusually high quality of service offered by the center, yet no one cause could be found for all the variations.

The service areas of organized education and religion show

TABLE XII—COMPARISON BETWEEN SCHOOL AREA AND COMMUNITY AREA

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total*</i>	<i>Villages Whose School Areas Are</i>		
		<i>Larger</i>	<i>Same</i>	<i>Smaller</i>
Middle Atlantic	27	6	17	4
South	20	4	10	6
Middle West	52	11	29	12
Far West	21	6	10	5

* The number of cases in this table does not agree with the number of villages surveyed because accurate measurements were not always obtainable in villages studied during the vacation period.

tendencies somewhat similar to those of the business and professional services. The service area of the school was more frequently approximate to the community boundary than it was larger or smaller. In most cases where variations were noted they were not large. In fact, the school's service area probably

TABLE XIII—COMPARISON BETWEEN CHURCH AREA AND COMMUNITY AREA

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Villages Whose Church Areas Are</i>		
		<i>Larger</i>	<i>Same</i>	<i>Smaller</i>
Middle Atlantic	27	5	2	20
South	30	6	6	18
Middle West	50*	13	26	11
Far West	22	6	9	7

* The number of cases in this table does not agree with the number of villages surveyed because accurate measurements were not always obtainable.

affects the community line more than that of any other single service. People tend to go for trade or recreation where their children go to school. The children themselves feel identified with a community in which they attend school and avail themselves of its other services.

In the case of the church the area of maximum service was taken and the area measured was the maximum line of the church or churches with the largest parishes. Even with the advantage of such liberal measuring, the tendency is for the church area to be smaller than that of the community. These results are expressed statistically in Table XIII.

In a great majority of cases social organizations, such as lodges, reaching more than the population of the incorporated village, served areas that coincided closely with the community boundary.

REASONS FOR DIVERGENCE

The next step was to try to account for the divergencies between a village's community area and its business and professional areas.

TABLE XIV—COMPARISON BETWEEN SELECTED ECONOMIC SERVICE AREAS AND COMMUNITY AREA IN COUNTY- AND NON-COUNTY-SEAT VILLAGES

<i>Service</i>	<i>Total*</i>	<i>Villages Whose Economic Service Areas Are</i>					
		<i>Larger</i>		<i>Same</i>		<i>Smaller</i>	
		<i>County Seat</i>	<i>Non-County Seat</i>	<i>County Seat</i>	<i>Non-County Seat</i>	<i>County Seat</i>	<i>Non-County Seat</i>
<i>Middle Atlantic</i>							
Banking	25	1	12	1	10	..	1
General trade	27	1	8	1	12	..	5
Hardware	25	1	9	1	12	..	2
Professional	27	1	11	1	11	..	3
<i>South</i>							
Banking	28	12	8	3	5	..	..
General trade	29	8	9	5	4	2	1
Hardware	28	11	8	4	5	..	..
Professional	30	8	4	4	6	5	3
<i>Middle West</i>							
Banking	52	10	19	4	14	..	5
General trade	57	11	19	4	17	2	4
Hardware	58	15	26	2	11	..	4
Professional	55	8	21	4	9	4	9
<i>Far West</i>							
Banking	22	6	9	..	6	..	1
General trade	22	3	5	3	11	..	..
Hardware	22	3	5	3	11	..	..
Professional	22	3	8	..	6	3	2

* The number of cases in this table does not agree with the number of villages surveyed because accurate measurements were not always obtainable.

The fact of a village being a county-seat town seems to be a factor. The inquiry showed that a greater proportion of county-seat towns than of non-county-seat towns had business and professional areas that were larger than their community areas. This tendency holds true for every region, as is shown in Table XIV.

It was felt that the size of the village might be another factor accounting for variations between the community and the areas of business and professional services. On the basis of all villages, this appeared to be the case. But since the possession of the county seat tends to expand the areas of the economic services of a village, the calculation as to the effect of size was based only on non-county-seat towns, and on this basis no marked tendency was discovered. The situation is stated in Table XV.

TABLE XV—ECONOMIC SERVICE AREAS COMPARED WITH COMMUNITY AREA IN NON-COUNTY-SEAT VILLAGES

		Total Areas	Number of Service Areas That Are Larger		Same		Smaller	
Non-County-Seat Size	Villages Number		Num- ber	Per Cent.	Num- ber	Per Cent.	Num- ber	Per Cent.
Total	99	371	181	48.8	150	40.4	40	10.8
Small	40	146	63	43.2	72	49.3	11	7.5
Medium	44	166	92	55.4	49	29.5	25	15.1
Large	15	59	26	44.1 *	29	49.2 *	4	6.7 *

* Base less than 100.

Specialized service areas other than hardware are likely to exceed not only the community area but also the general trade and banking areas.⁷ Furniture, music, women's and men's clothing stores and undertaking establishments afford examples of such specialized services which are dependent upon large clienteles over considerable areas. In some cases the reason for this tendency lies in good merchandising; but a more potent factor is that only a limited number of such establishments can be supported in a given area. As a rule these specialized services are only available in large villages or towns.

Where the areas of maximum and of normal services were ascertained, comparison proves the former to be but little the larger; in other words, beyond the boundary at which a store

⁷ This confirms deductions reached by J. H. Kolb in *Service Relations of Town and Country*, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin.

or institution ceases to serve a majority of the people, its radius of influence declines rapidly.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

Only a count of noses could determine the exact population living within the area of a given village community, and in a few cases, where the Institute's surveyors undertook a house-to-house enumeration, this process was actually followed. In most communities a less exact, but reasonably accurate, method had to serve. For the village itself, the problem was relatively simple, since all of the villages included in this investigation were incorporated, and therefore their 1920 populations were available from the Census. The population to date for the village part of the community area was determined by revising the 1920 Census figure from information received from the assessor and electric light or water companies as to the number of dwellings, the postmaster as to the number of families, and the school principal as to the number of children enrolled, compared with 1920.

The problem of estimating the open-country population offered greater difficulties. Nevertheless, through careful inquiry, especially among postmasters, rural route carriers, assessors, real estate agents and chambers of commerce, bankers and school authorities, as well as by an actual count of farms as given in the plat book, if one was available, it was possible to arrive at reasonably reliable population figures for the open-country part of village communities.

The sizes of country populations attached to village centers vary in different regions. On the average, the South has the largest open-country populations, while conditions in the other three regions are much alike. In every region the total population of the open country exceeds that of the village, as may be seen from Tables XVI and XVII.

Thus numerically the open-country population is likely to be the predominant partner in the village community. In practice, however, this numerical predominance counts for very little, since the inhabitants of the open-country area do not form a homogeneous group in the same sense in which the population of a village may be said to be homogeneous. In every region the population of the open-country area of the village community was

usually found to be divided between those who lived in small subcenters of population, or "neighborhoods," and those who

TABLE XVI—AVERAGE POPULATION IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY

Region	Number of Villages	Community	Population		Ratio of Country
			Small Villages	Country	Population to 100 Villagers
Middle Atlantic ...	14	2,050	763	1,287	168.7
South	10	3,054	603	2,451	406.5
Middle West	18	1,765	733	1,032	140.8
Far West	5	1,793	664	1,129	170.0
Medium Villages					
Middle Atlantic ...	10	2,871	1,290	1,581	122.6
South	10	4,358	1,327	3,031	228.4
Middle West	30	3,055	1,312	1,743	132.9
Far West	8	3,200	1,228	1,972	160.6
Large Villages					
Middle Atlantic ...	4	3,988	1,991	1,997	100.3
South	10	5,676	2,136	3,540	165.7
Middle West	12	4,655	2,170	2,485	114.5
Far West	9	4,512	2,364	2,148	90.9

did not. For many of the latter class the question was largely one of accessibility to the village: either the village was so readily accessible, in actual distance or by reason of easy transportation,

TABLE XVII—NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY

Region	Small Villages			Medium Villages			Large Villages		
	Village	Country	Ratio of Country Households to 100 Village Households	Village	Country	Ratio of Country Households to 100 Village Households	Village	Country	Ratio of Country Households to 100 Village Households
Middle Atlantic.	3,124	4,242	135.8	3,623	3,868	106.8	2,260	2,231	98.7
South	1,237	5,661	457.6	3,180	6,447	202.7	5,025	7,193	143.1
Middle West ...	3,608	4,338	120.2	10,609	11,212	105.7	6,854	6,339	92.5
Far West	879	1,410	160.4	2,647	3,726	140.8	5,829	4,613	79.1

as to render them independent of neighborhood facilities, or their dwelling was so remote from both village and other neighbors as to make isolation inevitable. On the other hand, it not infre-

quently happened that where traces of neighborhoods that had disintegrated were discovered, the more prosperous and ambitious people had turned to the village for the satisfaction of all their needs, while the others, though missing the old neighborhood life, had allowed themselves to slip inertly into what amounted to social isolation.⁸

NEIGHBORHOODS

The neighborhood plays an important part in the body politic of the village community, since it often becomes a center of open-country public opinion and also, by offering the neighbors one or more services, is able to some extent to resist encroachment by the village.⁹

Neighborhoods arise out of the needs of small groups. They are most numerous, and can best be studied, where the topography of a district has prevented people living in the open country from intermingling freely with those either in the town or in any other section of the community. Thus a group of families shut in by hills or by a river develops local consciousness and arranges to supply a few of its more immediate social and economic needs.

Various special causes, economic, educational and social, also contribute to the formation of neighborhoods.¹⁰ A minor industry may create one, since almost any industry requires a certain amount of resident labor. Or a foreign-language group finds itself isolated by difference of speech from the rest of the community, and the neighborhood group thus formed on the basis of nationality may persist long after the language barrier has disappeared. Or families of relatives or friends, migrating to a new locality, find old ties strengthened by the sharing of strange experiences, and a neighborhood grows up. This type of neighborhood is frequent in the Middle and Far West, and is sometimes formed by a group of co-religionists around some church.

The 140 villages investigated had a total of 513 neighborhoods in their rural areas, an average of 3.6 neighborhoods per village

⁸ As was to be expected, it was in the neighborhoodless areas that the proportion of those reached by the church was found to be exceptionally low.

⁹ Kolb, *Rural Primary Groups*, pp. 5 and 6, "A Study of 121 Neighborhoods in Dane County, Wisconsin," defines such neighborhoods as the first groupings beyond the family that have social significance and that are conscious of some local unity.

¹⁰ Kolb's findings (*op. cit.*) regarding the genesis of neighborhoods have been borne out by the present study, which has gone beyond Professor Kolb's chiefly in that it has been able to make comparisons of neighborhood life the country over.

for all regions. In the South, where they are most numerous, they run five to a village, apparently because of the relatively small number of major service stations in that section and its need of additional minor centers. In the Middle Atlantic states

TABLE XVIII—AVERAGE NUMBER AND POPULATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS

Region	Number of Villages	Small Villages		Number of Villages	Medium Villages		Number of Villages	Large Villages	
		Neighborhoods in Community			Neighborhoods in Community			Neighborhoods in Community	
		Number	Population		Number	Population		Number	Population
Middle Atlantic .	14	3.4	105	10	4.3	142	4	5.0	110
South	10	5.1	175	10	5.5	151	10	4.5	128
Middle West ...	18	2.4	100	30	3.2	124	12	2.9	114
Far West	5	2.4	105	8	3.3	133	9	4.3	161

the average is 3.9 for each village, and in the Middle West 2.9. The far western average of 3.5 is misleading. In sections where the country was level and the farms small, neighborhoods were found to be few and far between, while in the mountainous country they reappeared, one community having no fewer than

TABLE XIX—DISTANCE OF NEIGHBORHOODS FROM THE VILLAGE

Region	Total*	Number of Neighborhoods Distant			
		Less Than 2½ Miles	2½ to 5 Miles	5 to 10 Miles	10 Miles and Over
All regions	422	60	184	145	33
Middle Atlantic	100	35	49	16	..
South	103	10	48	34	11
Middle West	145	11	63	65	6
Far West	74	4	24	30	16

* This table excludes 10 neighborhoods in the Middle Atlantic, 48 in the South, 30 in the Middle West and 3 in the Far West because of incomplete information.

fourteen. Thus in southern California there were but two neighborhoods to each village, while elsewhere in the Far West the average was 4.1.

The population of these neighborhoods ranges from about fifty to nearly five hundred, but generally it is small. Table XVIII would seem to indicate that the size of the village has no effect upon the population of the neighborhood.

The distance of the neighborhood from the center varies in the different regions. In the Middle Atlantic states, where there are more villages than in any of the other areas, neighborhoods are likely to be found close to the village center, 61 per cent. of those studied being within two and one-half miles of the center. On the other hand, in the South and in the Far West, where there are fewer villages in proportion to the area, neighborhoods are frequently found more than ten miles distant from the center. The varying distances of neighborhoods in the different regions are set forth in Table XIX on page 65.

TABLE XX—RESIDENCE OF COMMUNITY POPULATION

Region	Total	Percentage Living in		
		Village	Neigh- borhood	Country Outside of Neighborhood
Small Villages				
Middle Atlantic	28,702	37.2	17.3	45.5
South	30,543	19.8	29.2	51.0
Middle West	31,776	41.5	13.8	44.7
Far West	8,963	37.1	14.1	48.8
Medium Villages				
Middle Atlantic	28,705	44.9	21.2	33.9
South	43,581	30.4	19.1	50.5
Middle West	91,624	42.9	13.0	44.1
Far West	25,601	38.4	13.4	48.2
Large Villages				
Middle Atlantic	15,951	49.9	13.8	36.3
South	56,763	37.6	12.4	50.0
Middle West	55,859	46.6	7.1	46.3
Far West	40,606	52.4	15.4	32.2

The proportion of the population of village communities found in these neighborhood centers ranges from one-fifth in the Middle West to almost one-third in the Middle Atlantic states.

It would seem that although the size of a village does not directly influence the size of the neighborhoods it does appear to affect the relative distribution of the village, neighborhood and non-neighborhood populations. This distribution is shown in Tables XX and XXI.

The population distribution shown in Tables XX and XXI illustrates the tendency of country people to attach themselves to a minor group such as the neighborhood. This tendency persists in spite of the forces which make for neighborhood disintegration,

and especially in the Far West such groups seem now to be reappearing near the large centers, as witness the greater number

TABLE XXI—DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTRY POPULATION BY NEIGHBORHOODS

Region	Total Number	In Neighborhoods Per Cent. Living Outside			Total Number	Outside of Neighborhoods Per Cent. Living Outside		
		Small Villages	Medium Villages	Large Villages		Small Villages	Medium Villages	Large Villages
All regions	68,724	28.4	43.3	28.3	204,736	23.1	41.2	35.7
Middle Atlantic..	13,236	37.4	46.0	16.6	28,572	45.7	34.0	20.3
South	24,241	36.8	34.3	28.9	65,984	23.6	33.4	43.0
Middle West	20,278	21.6	58.8	19.6	80,404	17.6	50.2	32.2
Far West	10,969	11.5	31.4	57.1	29,776	14.7	41.4	43.9

As may be seen from the table 25.2 per cent. of the total country population live in neighborhoods and 74.8 per cent. outside.

of neighborhoods attached to large villages in this region than in any other region.

In the study of the 513 neighborhoods investigated an effort was made to rank in order of importance the principal integrating factors to which neighborhoods owe their existence. The results appear in Table XXII.

TABLE XXII—FACTORS INTEGRATING NEIGHBORHOODS

Factor	All Regions	Middle Atlantic	South	Middle West	Far West
Total	513	110	151	175	77
School and church	124	13	54	54	3
School only	73	7	26	31	9
Church only	42	3	17	14	8
School, church and trade service* ..	64	10	19	32	3
Social or economic group	42	25	1	8	8
School and social or economic group	22	1	.. †	..	21
Racial groups	13	2	..	6	5
Family groups	11	6	..	3	2
Minor center	32	4	8	10	10
Industry	20	7	3	5	5
Store	15	11	..	4	..
Topography	2	1	..	..	1
Real estate development	2	..	..	..	2
Disintegrating	14	9	..	5	..
No factor	37	11	23	3	..

* Trade service includes store, elevator or creamery.
 † There are no Negro groups in which racial factor is most important. They occur under some other category such as school, church, etc.

This table shows some interesting trends. In the older sections of the country the church figures either as the sole or one of the principal factors for the existence of neighborhoods in about 50 per cent. of the communities investigated, while it is mentioned in barely one-sixth of the neighborhoods in the Far West. In fact, half of such neighborhoods have no church at all, although some of these have more or less feeble Sunday schools. Neighborhood life in the Far West is relatively new and has been organized around the more modern social forces of our rural civilization. Here the school, combined with some socio-economic group such as the Grange, Farm Bureau, or Farmer's Union, is found to be the chief factor, a combination practically non-existent elsewhere. Groups that just miss being villages, or sometimes villages that are in process of disintegration, play an important rôle in neighborhood life in this part of the country, owing possibly to the greater distances between centers.

From a study of the data on which Table XXII was based four main reasons emerge for the persistence of neighborhoods:

(1) Nationality ties. These endure even after complete Americanization—and complete Americanization is a long process.¹¹

(2) Denominational ties. Certain churches, particularly those of the liturgical denominations such as the Lutheran, Catholic or Moravian churches, or some particular sect like the Schwenkfelder, Seventh Day Adventists or Mormons, hold people in neighborhood groups. Thus within one and a half miles of the village of Thurmont, Maryland, is the Graceham neighborhood, covering eleven square miles, dominated by a Moravian church which has maintained an unbroken existence since 1758. The center of this neighborhood is a hamlet in which live about forty families.¹² Where nationality ties and church ties combine in one neighborhood its stability will be all the more pronounced.

¹¹ Witness the counties in Iowa, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania inhabited by the Pennsylvania Germans. These people began emigrating to this country from the Palatinate very early in the eighteenth century. Two and a quarter centuries have passed and their descendants still speak "Pennsylvania Dutch" and hundreds of their country churches still have German services from one to four times a month.

¹² Cf. Oerter, A. L., *Graceham, Frederick Co., Md.: An Historical Sketch*, Vol. IX, Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society (1913) and Stocker and Brunner, *A Survey of Graceham, Md.*, Moravian Country Church Commission (1915). Of many similar instances that might be cited one of the most interesting is that of the neighborhood of Schoeneck, Pa. Its center is even smaller than that of Graceham. It is older and has persisted, though within a mile of Nazareth which has grown from an agricultural village to an industrial community of over 5,000 population.

(3) Industrial ties. As long as an industry persists, the evidence indicates that its neighborhood is likely to continue for the simple reason that industry and agriculture have little in common. Though the farmer may take a seasonal job in the industry, it was found that an industrial worker was seldom accepted in the farmers' churches and social organizations. Where religious advantages exist at all in industrial neighborhoods there are generally separate churches or missions.

(4) Service ties. Neighborhoods that offer three kinds of service are likely to persist longer than those with only one or two kinds. Some of these are really small communities and would be so rated if they were outside the pull of the village. Graceham, Maryland, for instance, in addition to its church has a two-room school, a railroad station where local trains stop on signal, a post office and a store.

Two other factors lend strength to neighborhood survival but are not so important as the four already mentioned. Thus, neighborhoods persist longer if they have railroad stations, and if they possess good local leadership. Under forceful leadership a few neighborhoods have erected community houses, put on lectures, plays, musicals and socials and thus provided a rich social life even though bound to the village by lodge, church, school and economic ties.

If there are ties that bind, there are also factors that tend to disintegrate neighborhoods. A good road that makes the village easily accessible by automobile; economic prosperity, leading people to seek the superior services of the center, and aggressive action by the village itself are among the chief of these factors. The last is most likely to be operative where cordial feeling exists between village and neighborhood. As a result of the outreach of the village, schools disappear through consolidations, stores are abandoned, and the people of the neighborhood are drawn into the village churches. Finally, leadership is a factor. If neighborhood leaders move into town or are led into the activities of the village, the neighborhood seldom survives.

THE VILLAGE PROPER

It has been seen how the various services performed by agricultural villages reach out into the surrounding countryside, how

the extent of those services determines the area of the open-country community of a given village, and how an important element in the open-country area is the neighborhood. It remains now to say a word in conclusion about the structure of the village itself.

The actual village area is small, nor does the size of the population seem to affect it much. One-third of the villages surveyed covered less than one square mile; less than one-fourth exceeded one square mile; while each of the villages in the largest group was approximately one square mile in area.

The corporate area in some instances had been limited by the opposition of people not wishing to be included for fear of higher taxes. Occasionally the area of incorporation reflected the un-

TABLE XXIII—INCORPORATED AREAS OF VILLAGES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>Small Villages Area in Square Miles</i>			<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>Medium Villages Area in Square Miles</i>			<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>Large Villages Area in Square Miles</i>		
		<i>Average</i>	<i>Range</i>			<i>Average</i>	<i>Range</i>			<i>Average</i>	<i>Range</i>	
Middle Atlantic .	14	1.00	0.50-1.75		10	1.09	0.75-2.00		4	1.25	1.00-1.50	
South	10	1.50	0.50-3.00		10	1.50	0.75-3.00		10	1.91	0.25-6.00	
Middle West ...	18	0.77	0.33-1.50		30	0.93	0.50-2.00		12	1.60	0.50-3.50	
Far West	5	0.50	0.25-1.00		8	2.09	0.50-7.00		9	1.51	0.50-4.00	

fulfilled optimism of the first village fathers as to the probable growth of their village.

The exact figures, giving in square miles the areas of incorporation for villages according to population groups in the different regions, are shown in Table XXIII.

More than any other single factor, or even group of factors, the railroad has exercised a powerful influence upon the physical structure of the village. In about one case in every ten it has even played the tyrant, causing villages to abandon their original sites and drawing them a distance of from one to three miles to its side, even though the new site often could not compete in natural advantages with the old one.

With the advent of the railroad on the outskirts of a village, the natural reaction has been for the village to reach out towards it, whence comes the "T" or "L" conformation of so many small

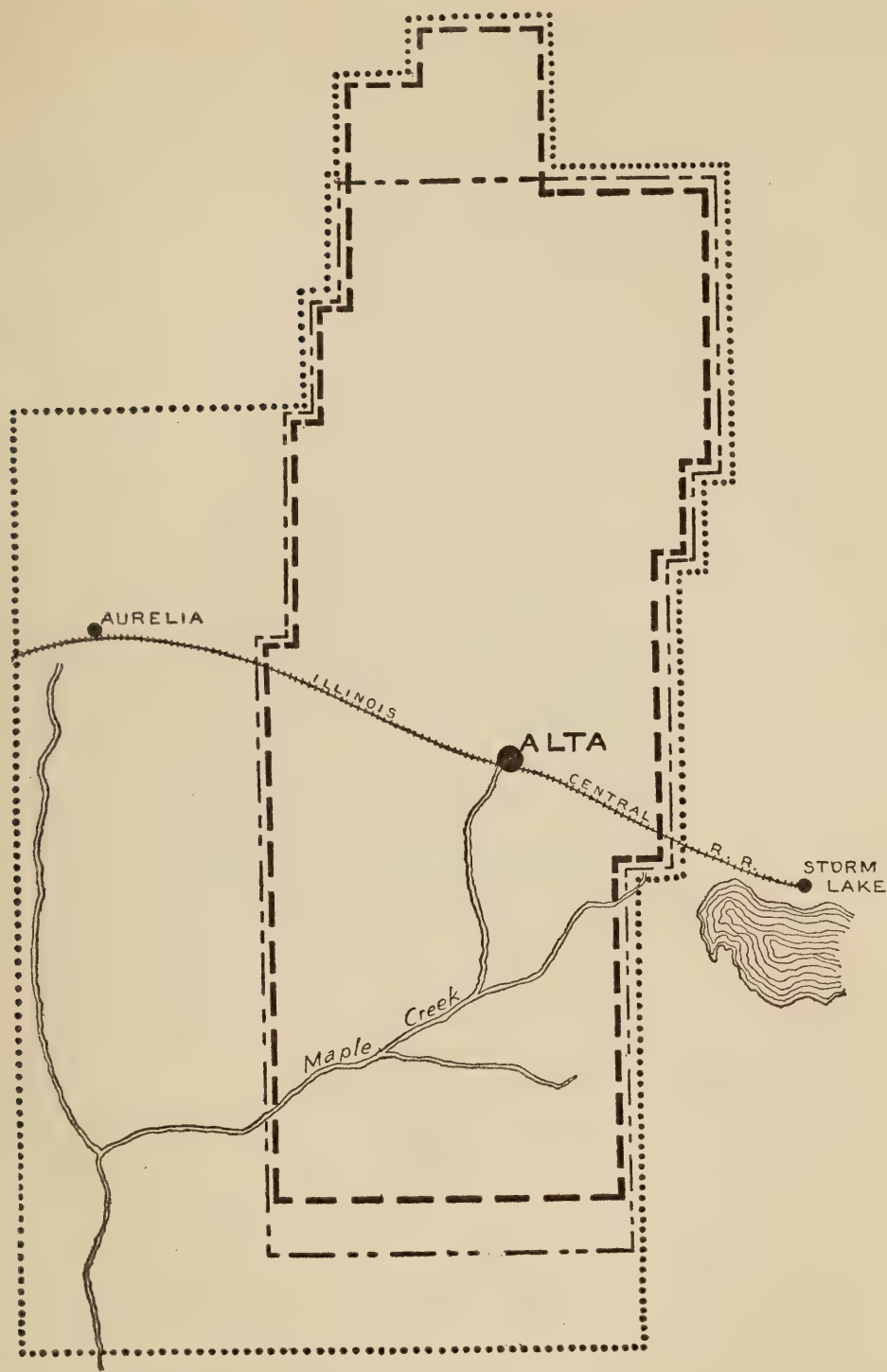
towns. In some cases the center of business has shifted towards the railroad, while in others, particularly in the Middle Atlantic states, the village industries have been built up around the railroad station and the village itself has changed but little. This is more likely to be true where an interurban trolley line or state highway passes through the center of the town.

Class segregation and social and religious divisions are often sharply defined by the railroad. Thus in one historic county-seat town all the Baptists live on one side of the track and all the Methodists on the other. In a village of the Far West, with a population of 2,000, division has gone further. The poorer people and all employees in the fruit-packing industries of the place live west of the track with their own school and their own churches, such as the Church of God, the Holiness and Pentecostal churches. The older denominations have virtually no members among these people and their buildings are all located on the east side of the track in the wealthier part of the town, which also has its own school. This east versus west division also affects local politics and the social life of the community.

Class differentiation has a tendency to occur even when a railroad track is not the visible line of division. Sometimes natural geographic obstacles, such as a river or lake, accentuate the separation. In almost all the villages studied the beginnings of segregation into social groups were apparent. This was most noticeable in the South and Southwest where the Negroes or Mexicans live in a section of the village by themselves. In other instances, the more prosperous villagers isolate themselves in one part of town or along one street. An example of this process was observed in a certain northwestern community. The "rich man" of the village had built himself a beautiful home, referred to by his friends and neighbors as the "most expensive house in town," on what was soon nicknamed "Quality Hill." Not to be outdone, other families of similar standing had followed his example or were planning to do so, for not to live on Quality Hill was to proclaim oneself a nobody in this particular community. Villages as well as cities may have their Gold Coasts, little Italys, Greenwich Villages and Bowling Greens.

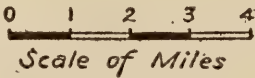
MAP II.—COINCIDENCE OF COMMUNITY
AND SERVICE AREAS

Alta, Iowa, in its various service areas illustrates how closely these areas can correspond to the community boundaries. The map also shows the rectangular type of community common in the Middle West, where farms are laid out by quarter sections and where most roads run due north and south or east and west because of the absence of topographical features.



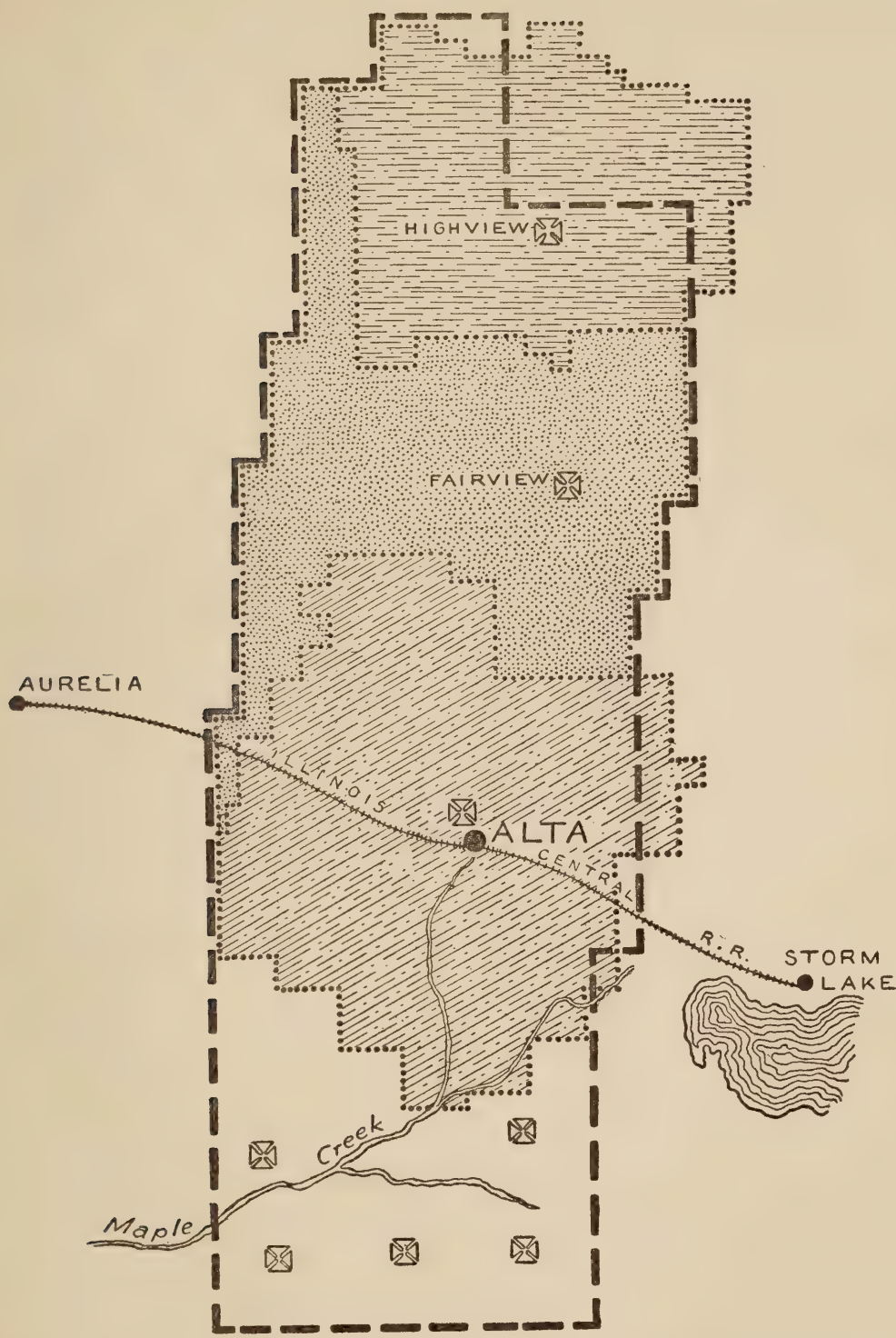
LEGEND

- Community
- General Store
- Grocery
- Hardware
- Dry Goods
- Clothing
- Village



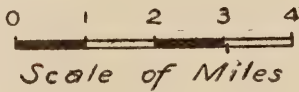
MAP III.—COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES AND
SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Alta, Iowa, has three consolidated school districts within the community, the boundaries of which for the most part coincide with those of the community. The non-consolidated district to the south is dominated by a racial group which has retained the old one-room schools but which sends its high-school children to the village.



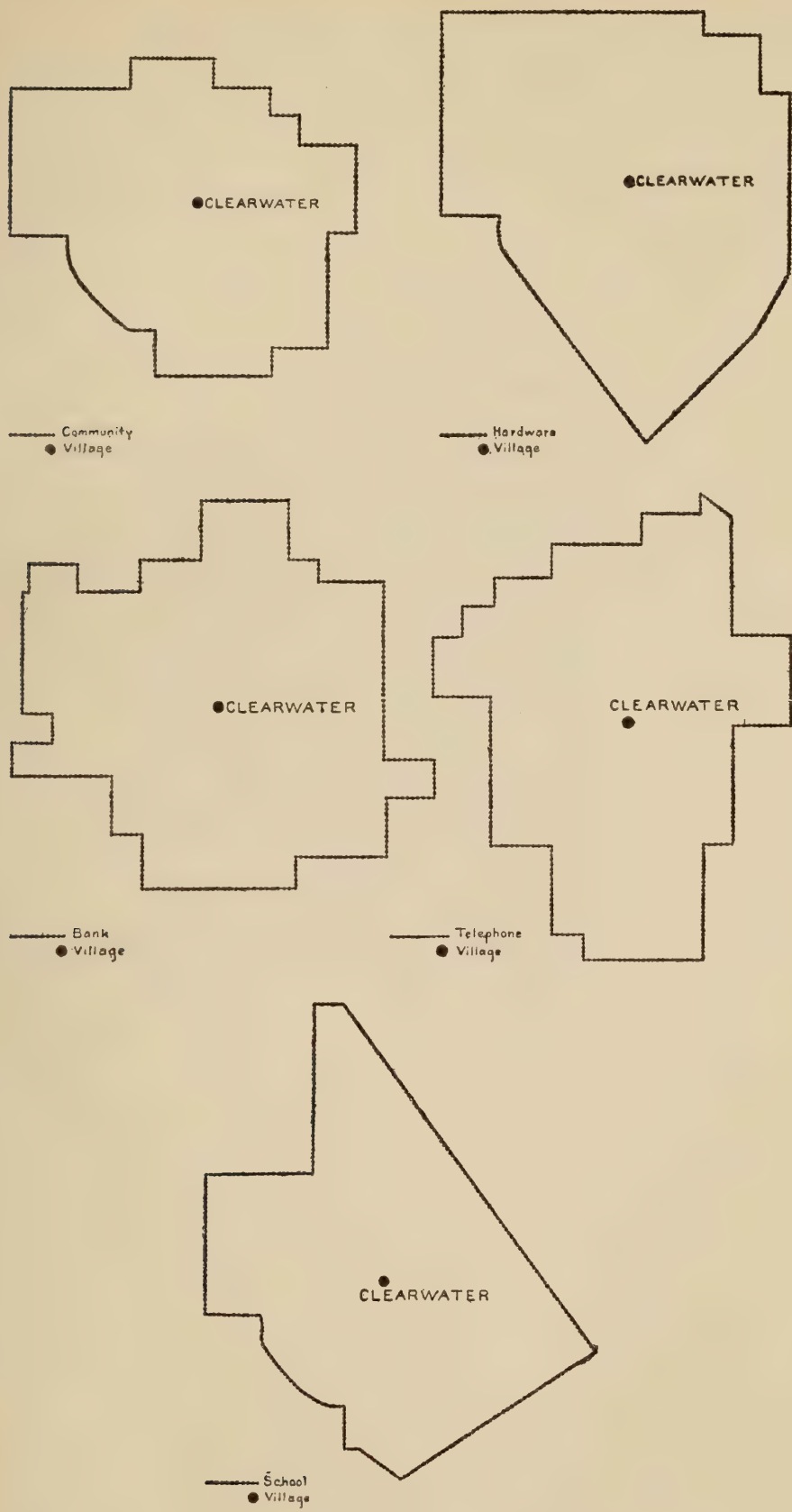
LEGEND

- Community Boundary
- Consolidated School District
- School
- Village



MAP IV.—VARIATION BETWEEN VARIOUS SERVICE AREAS AND COMMUNITY AREA FOR ONE VILLAGE

This page of small maps shows for one middle-western village the areas within which each service offered by the village, that does not coincide with the community boundaries, reaches a majority of the people. For purposes of comparison the community area is also mapped.



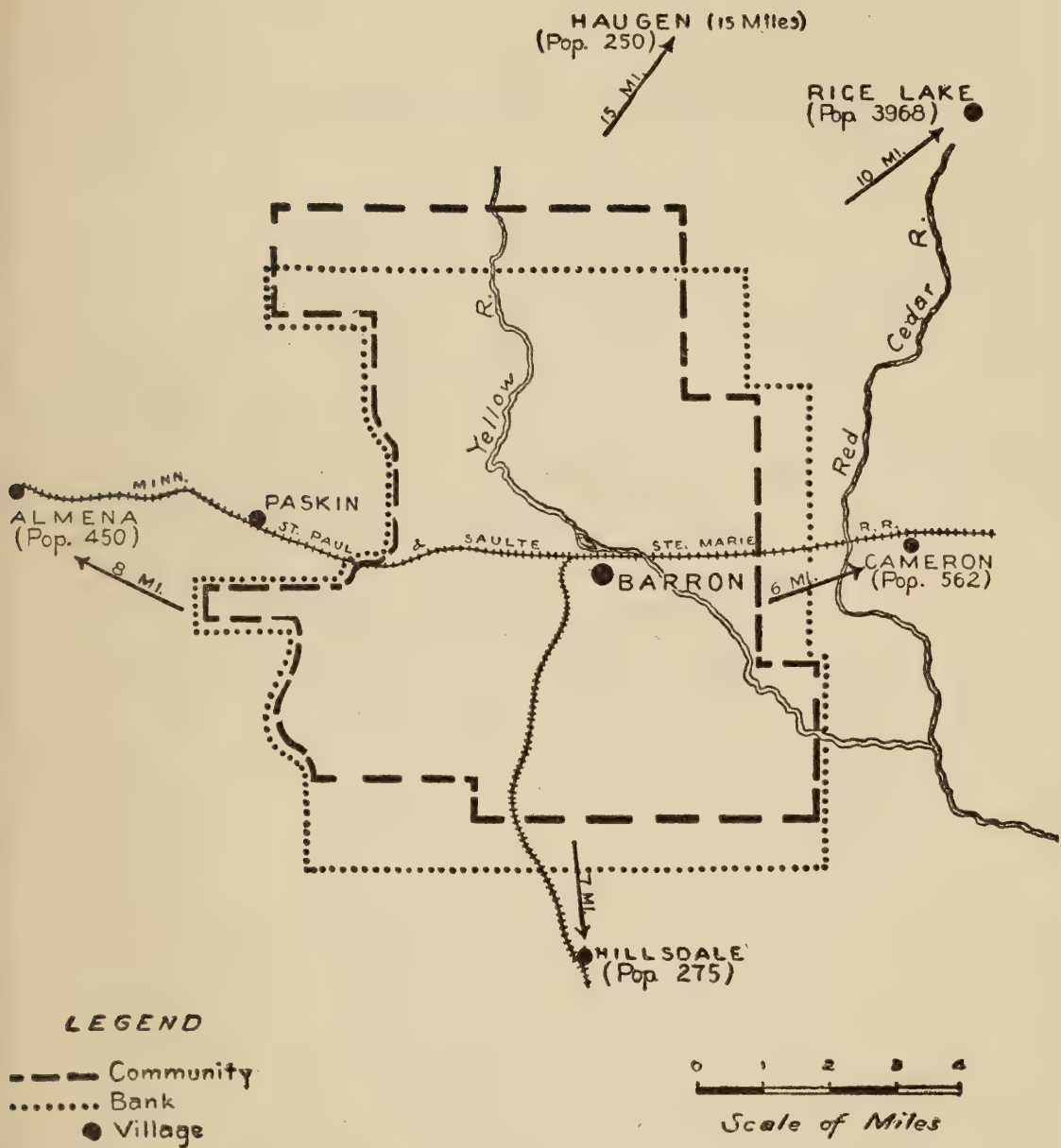
MAP V.—A FAR WESTERN COMMUNITY

Some of the economic services of this Washington community have pushed far beyond all other services, being limited only by certain topographical features. Moreover, one, The Golden Rule Department Store, has succeeded in attracting a clientele which no other institution or organization in the village has been able to serve with any degree of success, though this same store does not enjoy the trade of all of its own community. It is considerations such as these that make the area within which a majority of the people are served by a majority of the services of the village especially important from the standpoint of the social organization of the community.



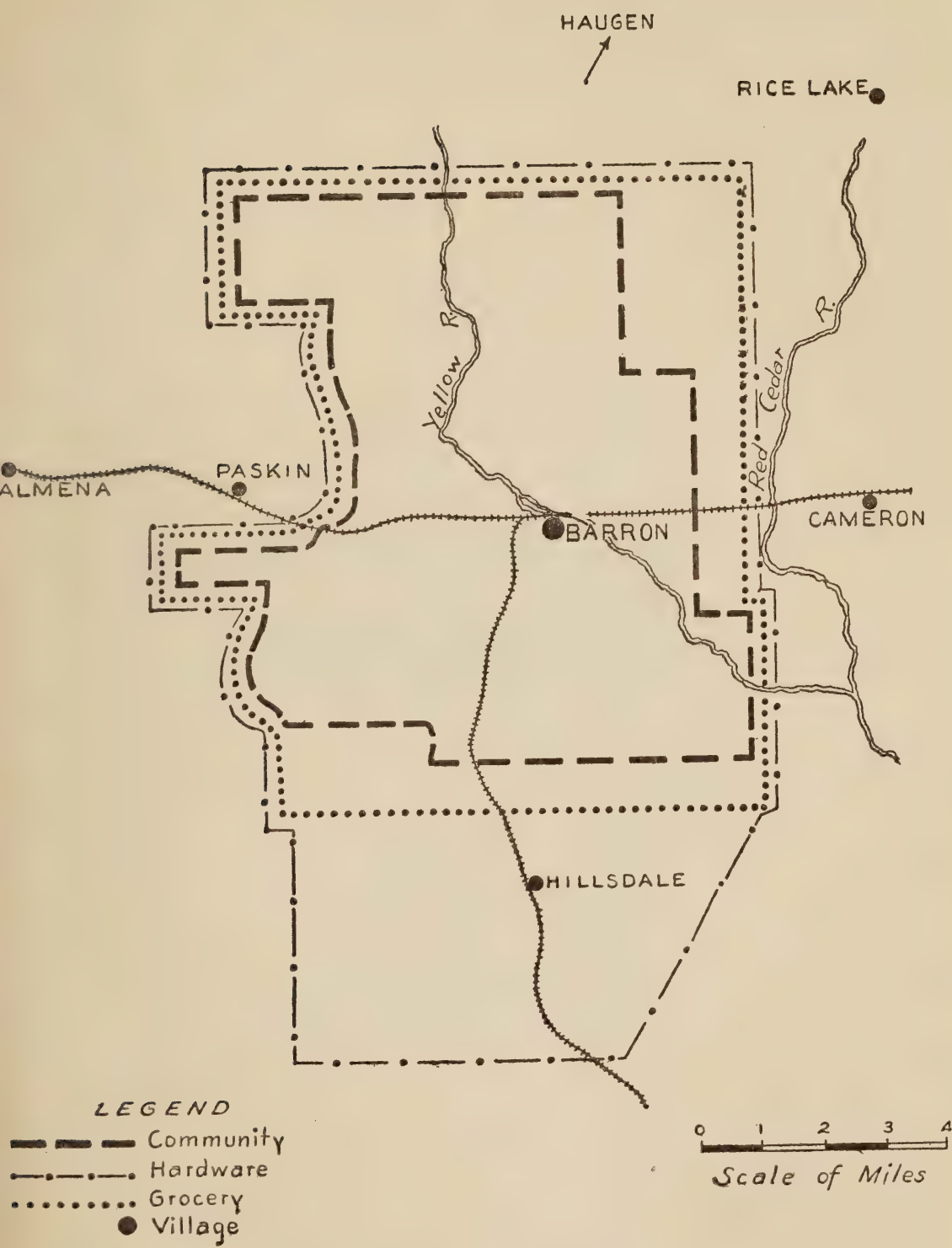
MAP VI.—INFLUENCE OF NEAR-BY TOWNS
ON COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES

It will be observed that this village is surrounded by a number of places, some larger, some smaller, and that the community boundary does not extend as far beyond the village as usual.



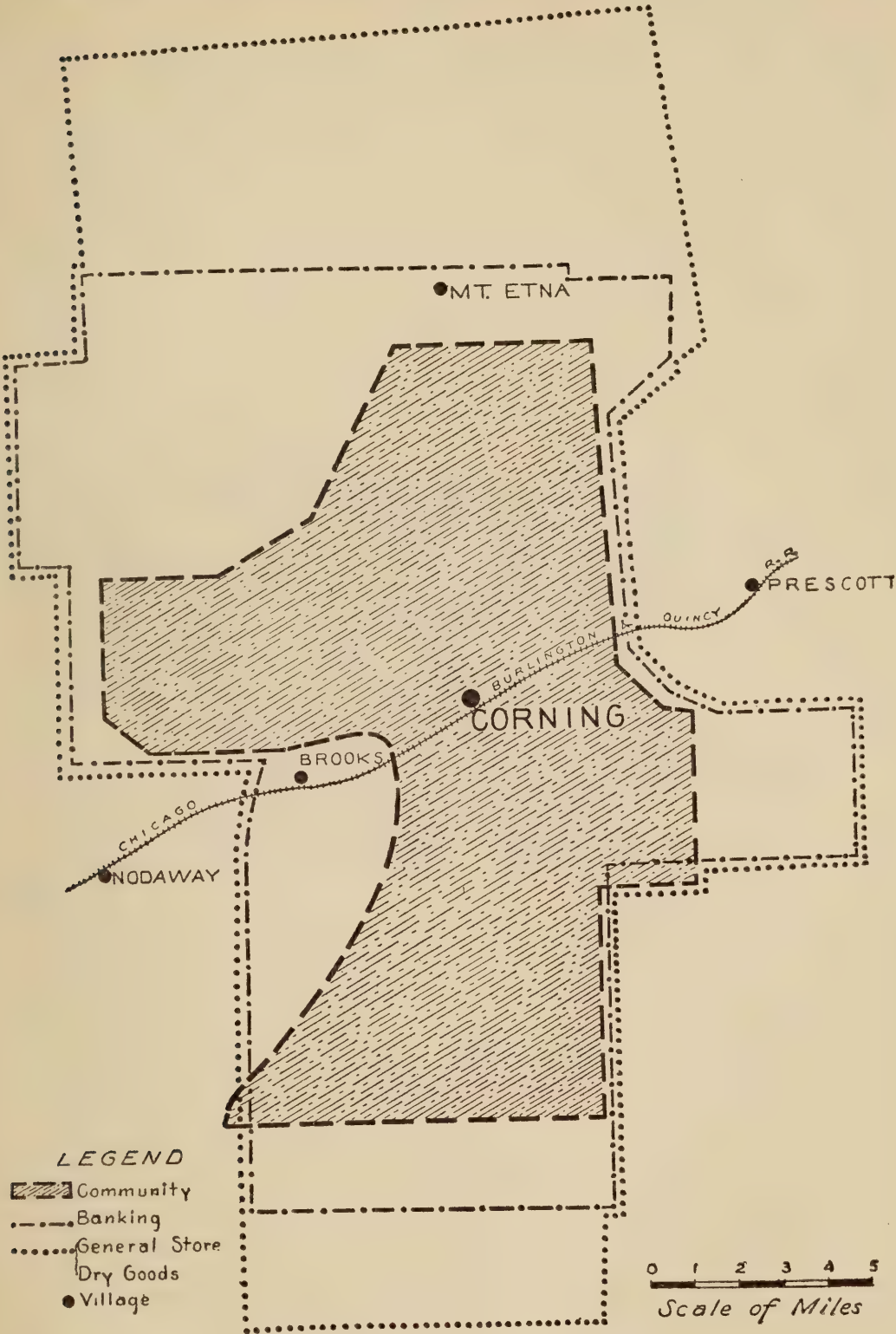
MAP VII.—INFLUENCE OF NEAR-BY
TOWNS ON RELATION BETWEEN
COMMUNITY AND OTHER AREAS

The presence of near-by towns and villages not only restricts community and trade lines but makes them more nearly coincide.



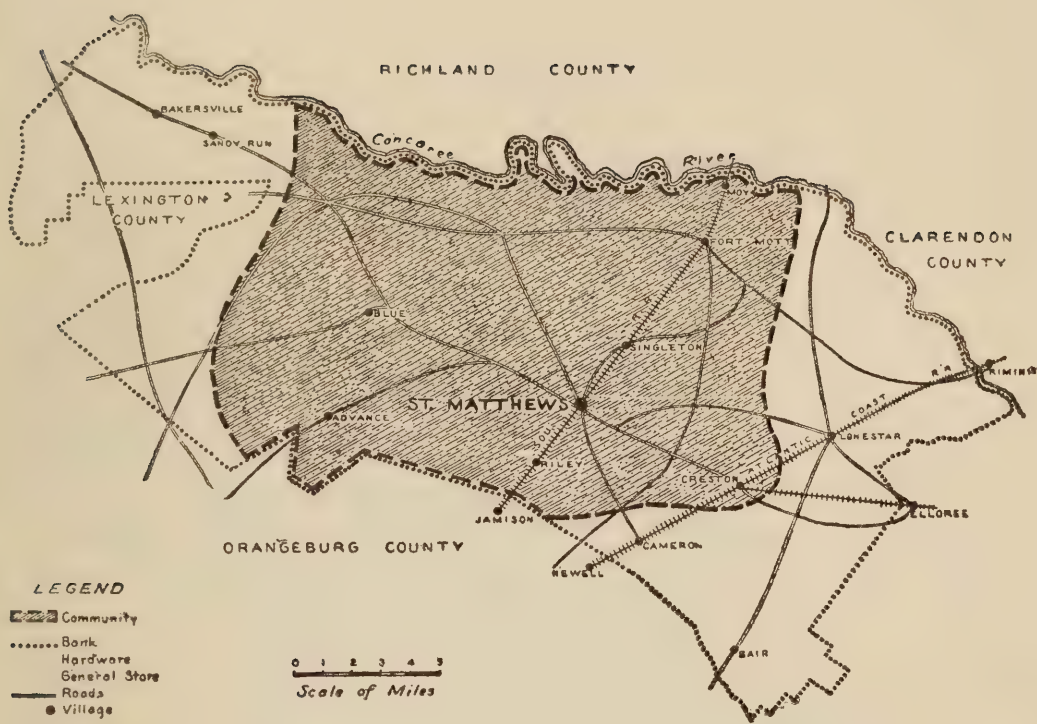
MAP VIII.—ECONOMIC SERVICE AREAS
OF A MIDDLE-WESTERN COUNTY-SEAT
TOWN

The economic services of a county-seat town far exceed in area the boundary of the community.



MAP IX.—A SOUTHERN COUNTY-SEAT
COMMUNITY

The combination of a large population and possession of the county seat has given St. Matthews a very large community area. Its banks exceed even this area and serve the entire county. County lines are, however, effective barriers. Though a neighboring county forces a wedge into St. Matthew's County, its banks do not draw many people from the other side of the county lines. Note, too, how all roads lead to the village.








MAP X.—BANK, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY AREAS CONTRASTED IN A SOUTHERN COMMUNITY

This is another southern county-seat town. The restricted school area, due to the absence of consolidation and the lack of interest in high-school training, contrasts strangely with the large banking area. The lines of the other economic services were found to approximate the community line.



LEGEND

-  Community
-  School District
-  Bank
-  School
-  Village

0 1 2 3 4
Scale of Miles

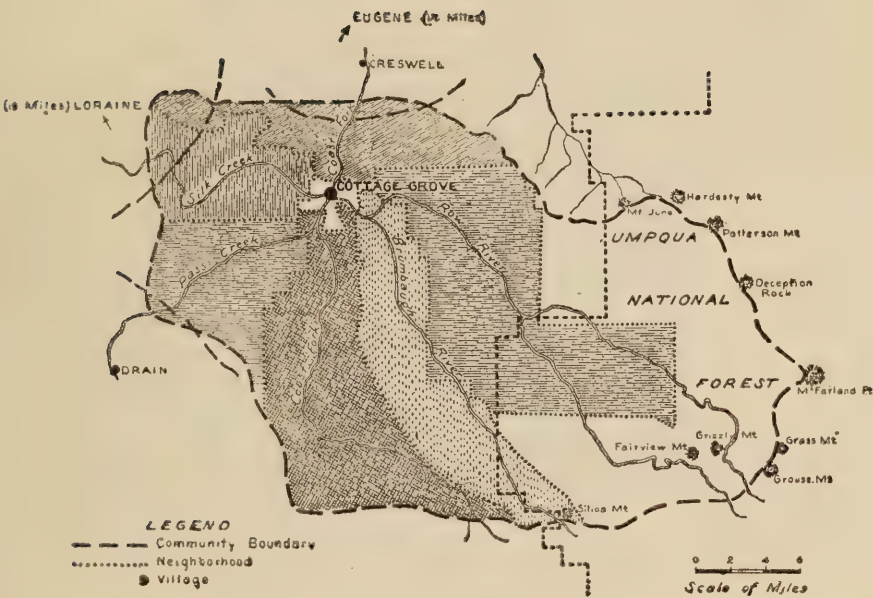
MAP XI.—CHURCH NEIGHBORHOOD IN
A SOUTHERN COMMUNITY

Hertford, North Carolina, has six of these church neighborhoods. They are more numerous in the South than elsewhere.



MAP XII.—NEIGHBORHOODS IN A WEST-
ERN VILLAGE COMMUNITY

The neighborhoods in the Cottage Grove, Oregon, community are sharply bounded by ranges of hills. Each neighborhood is a river valley. This map also illustrates two other things: (1) It shows how topography limits the community area, the line halting at the foot of the mountains to the east; (2) It indicates to the west and north how the farthest service areas of the near-by centers may overlap the extreme reaches of another community. It is just this overlapping that in most communities explains why, after a village ceases to reach a majority of the people, its influence soon becomes altogether negligible.



**MAP XIII.—NEIGHBORHOODS IN AN
EASTERN VILLAGE COMMUNITY**

The many neighborhoods in this Pennsylvania village were originally due largely to the topography of the country. Some of the names indicate the original distinguishing marks of the neighborhoods. Thus, one grew up around an old ferry; at least two indicate family names, and one name, Spring Hill, refers to a natural feature of the country that attracted settlers.



CHAPTER III

VILLAGE AND COUNTRY RELATIONS

THE last chapter showed that the population of a village community falls into two main groups, that of the villagers themselves, whose activities make the village a service station for the farmers, and the farmer group of the near-by open country which the village serves. Though mutually dependent in many ways, these two groups have different interests and different attitudes; and in consequence the group relations are sometimes cordial and sometimes marked by misunderstanding and conflict. The present chapter will discuss the mutual relations of these two groups. It will present the actual situation as field workers found it in the 140 villages studied and then describe certain specific situations in which there was conspicuous conflict or noteworthy coöperation between the two elements in the rural community.

To facilitate this procedure the villages were divided into three classes: those in which active coöperation existed between town and country; those in which there was active antagonism or actual conflict; and those in which neither situation was found. This last represents the usual or neutral situation in which nothing worse than minor irritations or incipient conflicts were discovered and in which there was little or no active coöperation between the two elements in the community.

These categories are obviously not entirely objective although in practice it was not difficult to classify villages under one of the three heads. Active coöperation was judged to exist when, through one or more agencies, village and country were actively engaged in working out their problems together. Conflict was considered to exist only when the disagreements between village and open-country dwellers were of a serious and fundamental sort. All other situations were classed as neutral.

The situation regionally is expressed in Table XXIV.

It is apparent from this table that the small village manages to keep on the best terms with the farmer and that the large

village is less likely to do so. Judged on the basis of the statistics of this table, the tendency would seem to be for the degree of cordiality between village and country to vary inversely with the size of the village's population. In two-thirds of the cases relations between town and country were no better than neutral. The remaining villages are almost equally divided between cases of maladjustment and those in which relations are good. The best record is made by the Far West, in which region agriculture is more intensive and economic coöperation much further developed.

TABLE XXIV—VILLAGE AND COUNTRY RELATIONS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Small Villages</i>			<i>Medium Villages</i>			<i>Large Villages</i>		
	<i>Coöperative</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Conflicting</i>	<i>Coöperative</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Conflicting</i>	<i>Coöperative</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Conflicting</i>
Middle Atlantic ...	3	10	1	2	7	1	..	3	1
South	3	7	..	..	8	2	1	7	2
Middle West	3	13	2	6	16	8	..	8	4
Far West	2	3	..	4	4	..	3	3	3

The Middle Atlantic stands second. Agriculture in this region is more diversified than in the South and Middle West and the farmer is close to his market. Town and country relations are worst in the Middle West, where the agricultural depression of 1920-1925 has been most severely felt. Obviously the sample of villages is not large, but in view of the care with which the selection was made, these trends are probably significant.

CAUSES OF CONFLICT

Careful inquiry was made to ascertain the causes of open conflict and of irritations that were generally regarded as likely to lead to conflict.

The basic cause of conflict is economic. There is a fundamental difference in function between the villagers who buy and sell and the farmers who produce crops. Specific conflicts usually arise through the failure of the village to function as a service station to the satisfaction of the farmers. The villagers either do something, often unwittingly, that the farmers regard as opposed to their interests or they fail to do something that the

farmers feel they should do. Because of the economic dependence of the villagers upon the open country, they are more interested than the farmers in working out a satisfactory basis for village and open-country relations.¹

The basic cause of antagonism between village and country can best be described as lack of mutual understanding. Specific causes are listed together with the number of times each has been a factor in the situation in Table XXV.

TABLE XXV—ACTIVE CAUSES OF FRICTION BETWEEN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY

<i>Cause</i>	<i>Cases Reported</i>
Total	68
Inadvertent acts	17
Prices	17
School administration or program	10
Policy of farmers' coöperatives	8
Credit and banking	8
Industry	4
Politics	4

These causes of division between town and country will be examined in the order of frequency with which they were found, as listed in Table XXV.

INADVERTENT ACTS

Villages seem easily to forget the attitudes and needs of the farmers, and serious difficulty is sometimes caused by a relatively unimportant act. In two communities a storm in a teapot arose because of the assumption on the part of the village that all farmers drove automobiles. In one case some hitching posts were removed and in another the village government connived at the removal of a low watering trough which had stood for years at the intersection of two main streets and which had become an obstacle to automobiles driven rapidly through the center of the village. Even though a majority of the farmers did operate cars these acts were interpreted by all as unfriendly to the rural interests. The farmers protested, but the villagers

¹ An interesting confirmation of this concern, which has extended to small cities as well, is found in the stream of requests received of late by the United States Chamber of Commerce from local chambers for suggestions as to how to win the confidence and friendship of the farmer. The result has been a significant conference on the subject held in the Middle West early in 1925 and drawing attendants from eight states. Other conferences are being considered for other regions.

did not take their protests seriously. The farmers emphasized them by taking their trade to near-by towns. Then the protests were taken seriously, and hitching post and watering trough were duly restored after bitter contests. The embattled farmers, however, argued that if the village had not been unfriendly to them the removal of these conveniences would never have been attempted. If they were to meet an unfriendly attitude in these villages why should they deal there? Trade was slow in returning, and the villagers in turn became aggrieved at the failure of the farmers to respond to their surrender. In neither of these cases had the village authorities consulted with farm leaders as to the importance of the conveniences. The actions taken were exclusively from the village point of view. Probably it was this tacit assumption on the part of the village that it could act for the total community that the farmer resented, even though he admitted the right of the incorporated village to govern itself.

A similar difficulty arose in another community over the action of a local telephone company, the stock of which was largely owned in the village. This company operated several lines into the country. Originally there was no toll charge for any subscriber who desired to talk to any point of the system. Later a regulation was put into effect whereby a small charge was made if a country subscriber desired to call any one on another rural line. Thus, the farmer could call only villagers or those on his own line free of charge, but the villager could reach any point on the system without charge. The farmers organized their own company as a result and boycotted the village stores for months.

Sometimes the incorporation of a village as a borough either creates difficulties or sows the seeds of misunderstandings. An unincorporated center is part of a township or similar minor political unit. As such, town and country alike share in the government, but when the village incorporates the farmer no longer has anything to say about "his town." The village in question doubtless incorporated for no other reason than to be rid of "farmer dictation." It had come to believe that there could be no progress without self-determination. As one village leader put it, "Our houses are closer together; we need greater fire protection than the farmer. Our schoolrooms are overcrowded; we need more teachers and fewer grades to a teacher. We contribute

two-fifths of the township's tax revenue and receive back just half that sum. Why should we not spend our money at home?" To which the farmer answered, "Because this is a democracy. Our children are entitled to as good an education as the villager desires for his. We should all advance together and no faster than we can go forward without breaking step. In a democracy the stronger part of the community must bear the burdens of the weaker."

Conflicts growing out of such a situation are peculiarly difficult to resolve. The cogency of the arguments of each side is undeniable by an outsider. The issue results in one of two attitudes expressed more than once by local leaders: "The interests of town and country are irreparably conflicting," or "town and country have enough in common to keep them working together fairly well, while they wait for larger governmental units to assume those burdens which they cannot agree to carry jointly." This, of course, is just what is happening so far as schools are concerned where consolidated districts or county administration have come into vogue.

A third source of misunderstanding is the attitude of superiority at times displayed by villagers to countrymen. Happily this attitude seems to be disappearing except when the affiliations of the village to the city have been strengthened or where for some reason the village feels itself independent of farmer patronage. Thus in one village the testimony was: "The farmers may come in to trade or when they have time and money to spare to the movies or church, but to village society they have no entrée." It is hardly surprising that the postmaster of this village estimates that more than half the money orders bought are sent by farmers to mail-order houses. In another such village on a single road between one and two miles from the village were twenty-seven children of the denomination whose church was the leading one in the village, yet none were enrolled in Sunday school. The minister tried to establish volunteer auto transportation for them, but the men of his congregation failed to respond to his efforts or to accept the responsibility of their church for the spiritual care of these country children.

PRICES

A specific cause of ill will was the question of prices. To object to the charges of tradespeople is of course a human tendency, and few communities were found in which there was not some murmuring about the prices of at least one store. In treating prices as a source of friction between town and country, therefore, only those instances were counted in which the question of prices had led to a more or less acute situation. In one such community farm leaders demonstrated by actual comparison that the prices at the stores in their village center were higher than those in the stores of two neighboring towns. The merchants concerned claimed as an extenuating circumstance that the farmers demanded credit in their immediate trade center, where they were known, but that when they went to the competing towns they paid cash. Investigation showed this to be true. The merchants of this particular village had not been able to agree to offer a discount for cash, each one fearing that his competitor might not keep the agreement. Hence prices were kept high because of the accounts carried by the merchants and there was no inducement for any one to pay cash.

Another element in the price situation is that often village stores are expensive because inefficient. Proprietors have assumed that trade once theirs was always to be theirs. The automobile, however, has made it possible for the farmer to increase his range of selection, with the result that the store with a good stock of nationally advertised lines, that uses a progressive merchandising policy, will win his trade against the store of the old pioneer type. To prosper the village must serve well. In a large majority of the cases in which store prices were an active cause of poor relationship between village and country it was the opinion of the field workers that the village stores were below par.

SCHOOL DIFFICULTIES

Conflicts over schools have been more disturbing and have lasted longer than any others. The greater number arise over the question of consolidation. In a few instances villages have had good high schools, partly supported by tuitions from rural districts. These districts have sought consolidation with the

village in order to secure a measure of control. The village has preferred the tuition basis, which also gave it the power to exclude pupils when it was found impossible to seat them, whereas a consolidation, it was feared, might make it necessary to erect a new building. In several communities it was charged that country children were deliberately excluded from the village high school by very severe grading of their entrance examinations. Diametrically opposed to this situation is the one in which the village has sought consolidation and the country has opposed it, also for fear of higher taxes. This is the more usual situation. In several cases the matter reached the courts.

One village decided that its own school district was too small. A citizen, with the consent of the village council and school board, circulated a petition which proposed to add some twelve square miles to the village school district. This territory was so plotted that no existing country schools were included. Thus each of the country school districts lost taxable property but, according to the plan, would have had to continue to support its own school. This would have meant an increase in taxes of some 60 per cent. Annexation to the village school district meant a similar increase to the farmers located within the twelve square miles. It was expected that in view of this equalization in taxation the outlying districts would close their schools and petition for consolidation. The rural school districts turned down the proposition. The case was brought to the County Common School Committee. Its decision was in favor of annexing the territory for reasons of greater efficiency and because a majority favored it, the majority being made up of villagers. This decision was sustained by the State Superintendent of Education, reversed by a Circuit Court, but confirmed by the Supreme Court of the state. The farmers secured the passage of a bill in the legislature dissolving this new district. The case is in the Circuit Court again and authorities say that it must finally go to the Supreme Court. During all this time the farmers were first in, then out, and then in the proposed enlarged district. Now part of them are out and the rest are trying to get out. The court is called upon to interpret the detail of the law. Trade dropped off at the village stores very markedly and where before, according to all accounts, an unusually happy situation had existed between village and country, strife became the order of the day.

Incredible as it may seem, this move was initiated by the village without any prior consultation with leaders among the farmers. The petition dwelt on the benefits of consolidation and compared the situation in this community unfavorably with that in others, but made no effort to show the farmer that he would benefit in proportion to his increased taxation. The question of transportation for grade pupils—a live issue with country people—was not mentioned. Instead of answering natural questions and meeting objections, the village resorted to legal means to gain its ends. There was considerable open-country sentiment at the time in favor of a union high school but instead of discovering and capitalizing this, village leaders from the outset sought to include all grades. Farmers charge that this was because the village had been ordered by the state to build a new school the cost of which they wanted the farmers to help bear. For whatever reason, the total disregard of the country by the village will cost it heavily for years to come.

In another similar case in which the farmers won, the village lawyer declared that this village was the one in which the farmers “habitually traded.” The reaction of the farmers was, “Is that so? Well, we’ll show you.” And they did. Farmers boycotted the town singly and in groups. Their mail-order business increased markedly. One of the two banks stated that the volume of business to mail-order houses became so large that they had rubber stamps made for filling in the names of the three chief houses on the bank drafts.

FARMERS’ COÖPERATIVES

Only on rare occasions does the village intentionally take the aggressive in pushing its grievances against the farmer. One of these occasions is when the farmers form a coöperative for either buying or selling. It is the former which arouses more intense opposition because it strikes more directly at the livelihood of certain villagers. The merchants or dealers affected combine against it and by propaganda and attempts to undermine its credit they make its way difficult. In a number of villages coöperatives had failed, largely because the farmers did not have leadership that understood merchandising, but such failures have been accelerated by the attitude of villagers. The selling coöperative

arouses village antagonism only where buyers in the village have been handling the product. This is especially the case with creameries and grain elevators. In one instance in which the farmers were holding their product for a higher end-of-the-season price, the merchants who had advanced them credit on purchases attached their property in an effort to compel them to sell. As a result the farmers boycotted the place and in this case won a speedy victory. In another village in which the farmers were organizing a coöperative creamery, the commercial creamery invited its patrons in, and night after night they discussed the proposition. Discussion at times grew heated, but the coöperative was not formed and the commercial creamery materially increased its payments for milk and cream. With a single exception, this was the only case found in which any attempt was made to think through the problem together or in which there was any suggestion that the problem could be solved either by the commercial house changing its policy or by the farmer taking it over and retaining its skilled staff to run it on salary for his benefit.

If the coöperatives survived, conflict over them virtually ceased after the first year. Indeed, the relations in villages with well established coöperatives were often above average.

THE CREDIT SITUATION

Allied with difficulties over prices, already considered, are those that have arisen over the credit system. During the agricultural depression the stores of a number of villages went on a cash basis, refusing all credit. It is undeniable that in many villages the stores were carrying thousands of dollars on their books, but the farmer contended that the shutting off of credit when he needed it most was the last straw. In point of fact, considering the unsatisfactory machinery for extending short-time credit to the farmer, the number of communities in which this particular difficulty was found is not large. The situation was aggravated at times by the policy of the banks. Carried away by the general inflation of 1919, some of these had urged the farmer to borrow or to take more money than he originally asked for, and then called in the loan on notice that was too short for a farmer to meet whose assets are mostly frozen except in crop time. Particularly when a bank failed as a result of this

policy, feeling between villagers and farmers was apt to run high, the villagers blaming the loss of their savings upon the farmers' "demand" for credit more often than upon the banker's departure from conservative principles.

INDUSTRY

The introduction of village industries was sometimes the cause of trouble between village and open country. The possession of a "payroll" made the village less dependent upon the farmers' trade, and the farmers resented it. Or at times industry and farmer were found competing for labor. This particular difficulty was most frequent when a village industry canned the product of the farm, in which case the peak of the labor demand in farming and industry coincided.

POLITICAL ISSUES

Conflicts between villages and farmers over political issues were found only in the North Central and Northern Pacific states. In Wisconsin several communities were sharply divided over La Follette, the farmer supporting, the villager opposing him. In the other northern and western states the division was over the Non-Partisan League which capitalized and cultivated the class consciousness of the farmer. The result, in terms of votes, is shown by Stuart Rice in his book, *Farmers and Workers in American Politics*. For instance, in Minnesota, in 1920, Hendrick Shipstead, running as Independent candidate for governor, received 19.1 per cent. of the total vote in incorporated places of 1,000 to 2,500, 20.1 per cent. of the vote in smaller incorporated places, and 41.6 per cent. of the total vote in the "rural" area outside the incorporated places of less than 2,500 population. Two years later, as candidate for United States senator on the Farmer-Labor ticket, Mr. Shipstead received half of the vote in the rural territory contiguous to villages but only one-third of the total vote within them. Rice further shows (p. 138) that this same difference existed in Wisconsin in the Republican state primary of 1920 in which John J. Blaine sought the nomination for governor.

It is possible that these different causes of disagreement and

conflict have some underlying psychological explanation traceable to the difference in the occupation of the farmer, who produces, and the villager, whose performance of service that the farmer must have makes it possible for him to exploit as well as serve. Certainly the fact remains that village and country are not yet yoked as a perfect team.

To illustrate, an incident has been chosen purposely from a village in which relations between village and country are, if anything, above the average. In the town the privately owned creamery and condensery took a real interest in its patrons, employed an agricultural agent to help them with their problems and frequently loaned them money when they could not obtain it from the banks. One of the two banks also catered to the farm trade and employed one man to assist its farm patrons and look after their business. In this community the state college of agriculture established a "cost route." For three years it employed an expert to keep careful records on costs of milk production under specified conditions upon some two dozen carefully selected farms. Toward the end of this period the agent began to arrive at tentative conclusions. The farmers were keenly interested; so were the creamery and the bank. These two institutions decided to invite all the farmers and their wives from these selected farms to a dinner in the village hotel at which the state college of agriculture's expert could present his conclusions and plans could be laid for improving the dairy farming of the community. Creamery, bank and expert united in a letter of invitation. The effect was electric. Two or three farmers refused to coöperate further with the experts. More refused to come to the dinner. "If the bank and the creamery are setting us up to a dinner they're going to get it back out of us somehow," was the usual statement to the amazed expert as he visited their farms. The expert's two years of constant contact with these farmers had not built up sufficient confidence in his integrity and that of the college of agriculture to prevent this explosion. The dinner was finally held, but not all the farmers came, and those who had withdrawn refused to return, thereby crippling the total experiment by just that much.

An attempt was made in this study to gauge the state of village and country relations on the basis of the number of country people belonging to village organizations. In the main a slight tendency was found for the proportion of farm members

in village social organizations to be higher where relations were good than where they were poor. There was less difference among communities where conditions were average or poor. There was also a slight tendency for small villages that enjoyed cordial relations with the farmers to exceed medium and large villages in the proportion of farmers in the membership of their social organizations.

The small differences discovered in these membership figures proved that this index is probably not very significant. An attendance index would have been better. The universal testimony in communities in which relations between village and country were poor was to the effect that, although a few country people dropped out of town organizations, many more stopped attending meetings. There was no way of securing a statistical measure of this tendency, since no organizations kept attendance records for village and country members separately.

FORCES MAKING FOR COOPERATION

The brighter side of the picture can now be viewed. There was active coöperation between town and country or pronounced goodwill toward each other in twenty-six of the 140 communities—one more than were suffering from actual conflicts. It was found that cordial relations in these villages were not brought about by offering free movies, free band concerts or an annual barbecue to the farmer; yet these were the only methods adopted by a score or more of villages. These methods simply attracted trade and, while the farmer attended, he regarded them as merely selling devices. Abiding goodwill between town and country was found to require more solid foundations.

Although it is more difficult to get at the causes for coöperation than to ascertain the causes for discord between village and open country, one thing emerged clearly from a study of these twenty-six communities. In every case the farmer was regarded as a full-fledged member of the community and as an equal of the villager in the conduct of its affairs. Equality not patronage was accorded to him. Villager and farmer alike worked for the community.

SCHOOLS

Among institutions the high school was by far the most potent in building and sustaining good relations between village and country, while business men's organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce came second. Just as in the conflict situation no church was found that spoke the word of goodwill or acted the part of peacemaker, so, while the churches profited in these favorable situations, only one was discovered that had helped actively in creating goodwill, and only a few more that were said to have been deliberately trying to foster and increase it.

The function of the schools in promoting healthy relationships between villager and countryman is the more interesting since they also caused some of the worst conflicts. In one village in the Middle West the school was used to stop a conflict that had long continued. The principal of the school cultivated the farmer and asked for advice, especially regarding the vocational and agricultural work of the school. He saw to it that country boys and girls received their proportionate place in the student activities. He planned the school's social program so that it would appeal to all groups. He encouraged athletics, and boys and girls from each part of the community played on teams or cheered their schoolmates toward victory. The principal became immensely popular with his students, and the attendance record in this school was equal to the best found in the study. Distinctions between village and country students disappeared from the school early in his régime. Patrons from each half of the community met at school functions and in the gatherings of the Parent-Teachers Association. The whole community caught the spirit of the school and today the old conflict has been all but forgotten in a hearty coöperation that unites this community.

BUSINESS AND SOCIAL INTERESTS

In a Georgia village the business men decided that no industry they could import held as much promise for their prosperity as agriculture, but that their chances of prosperity were small unless the farmer could be persuaded to diversify his products. Many interviews were therefore held with the farmers and finally a board of trade was organized on whose directorate of thirteen were nine

farmers and four villagers. "If agriculture was our biggest industry its representatives should control," said a village business man in explaining why the control of a village board of trade was handed over to the farmers. This move convinced all the countrymen of the sincerity of the village and won a hearty response to the board's efforts.

In a relatively short time the farmers listened to the advice of the board of trade, reënforced by a vigorous campaign, and in place of much of their cotton began to grow tobacco, tomatoes and some other truck and to raise poultry. The next step of the board of trade was to secure a tomato-packing and storage plant, with a cannery soon to follow. The board also made possible the coöperative buying of seed and fertilizer and secured an agricultural course in the high school. The social life of the community was fostered by picnics and other get-togethers, with the ultimate result that farmer and villager came to think in terms of the total community.

As the table at the opening of this chapter showed, a greater proportion of Pacific Coast communities had solved the problem of town-and-country relationships than in any other region. In the citrus fruit sections this was because all distinctions between farmer and villager had disappeared. In a few communities an approach to the system prevalent in parts of Europe was found, the farmer or rancher, as the Californian would say, living in the town and going out to his holdings. Here, too, business men were frequently found owning ranches. This situation, coupled with the intensive cultivation and small farms that usually go with irrigation, the greater prosperity of the farmer, and the closer contact between the two groups, brought about a greater recognition of the interdependence of the two elements of the community and afforded less opportunity for misunderstanding and conflict. Especially in California farmers are given their due place in chambers of commerce and similar organizations, and instead of booming the village as a favorable place for locating some infant industry the majority of these chambers spent their efforts and funds in promoting the agricultural products and possibilities of their communities.

In one far-western community this spirit of cordiality pervaded every phase of social and economic life. From the founding of the village business men and farmers have always acted

together. Thus irrigation was secured before it came to most places in this region. Thus coöperation with the railroad has been brought about. Thus a school that would do credit to a small city has been built. Thus, too, by the united support of all, one of the most successful rural churches in America has been created and its work sustained. This church from the first not only reflected but soon idealized and inspired the spirit of coöperation. It serves both town and country and cultivates the farmer, partly by keeping constantly in touch with the situation by means of an annual survey.²

One unusual thing about this community is the number of college men among the farmers. A high proportion of college graduates was also found in several other communities in which relations between village and country were above the average. "The country has the leadership here," said a school principal. "They've run away with it but the village follows willingly. It knows its livelihood depends on doing so." The kinship factor was also spoken of in three villages as a minor influence making for good relations.

In several villages in which farmers were not included in the chamber of commerce or similar organization mutual understanding has been brought about by coöperation between the village trade body and the Farm Bureau. By this means village support for diversification of agriculture has been secured, prizes have been offered for the best records attained by members of corn, pig, canning or other clubs, and the village business men have been helped to a more sympathetic understanding of the farmers' problems.

Two more situations may be described in which the first steps and causes of coöperation were not definitely discoverable but in which the results of it are evident.

The first is an Iowa community in which the consolidated school has been a strong influence in bringing village and country together. Churches and social organizations have a large proportion of open-country members, cultivate them constantly and receive farmers on a basis of equality. When any enterprise such as a bank or telephone company is organized farmers are con-

² For story of this church and more information about this community see *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country*, Chap. II. (Institute of Social and Religious Research.)

sulted and invited to become stockholders. The village helped the farmers in the organization of their creamery and elevator. The merchants and bank went to the limit of safety in extending credit to the farmer during the depression and thereby suffered with him. The general store sends a truck to the very ends of the community to serve the farmer, especially the farmer's wife. The result of all these activities is a united community with a trade area and community boundary proportionally far more extensive than any found in the other middle western villages studied.

The final illustration of healthy village and country coöperation comes from an Indiana village which is noteworthy for the fact that the Community Club, made up almost equally of countrymen and villagers, has procured a very fine community house and also has a well-equipped park near the edge of the village. The high school uses this building for athletic and social purposes and in every way it has become the hub of the total community. The surveyors state of this community that "making the farmer feel at home is so tactfully done that there is no conscious effort at improving town-and-country relations." It is not surprising to learn that when the farmers organized a live-stock coöperative in this community the local concern handling live stock, instead of summoning the village to fight the farmers in general and this coöperative in particular, offered to serve the farmers' organization on a commission basis, thus saving it the expense of separate equipment. The commission was fixed at a figure sufficiently low for the alternative of paying a salary to a manager to offer no saving.

NEUTRAL SITUATIONS

The major portion of this chapter has been devoted to a description of definite causes of conflict or definite phases of coöperation between village and country. This is because every neutral situation may become one either of conflict or of coöperation. The communities in which the situation was neutral are in a majority, three out of every five falling in this category. This does not mean that every one in these communities regards relations between village or country as ideal, nor that all leaders are blind to the elements of hope or danger in their several communities. It does mean that in eighty-nine communities out of

the 140 the problem of adequate adjustments between the two parts of the community is being left to chance; that in them there is no conscious effort to cement the ties that bind villager and farmer together. In the neutral situation, the most the village offers are occasional free movies and summer band concerts. The primary purpose of these is to secure more trade, not to establish goodwill. Lack of organization in the village, failure on the part of merchants to trust one another and work together, jealousies among village leaders which blind them to real opportunities for service, appear to be among the reasons for the failure of communities to establish active coöperation between village and country. The danger in a situation of this kind lies in the fact that an unguided community is more apt to gravitate toward conflict than toward coöperation.

CHAPTER IV

THE VILLAGE AS A FARM SERVICE STATION

FROM a study of the structure of village communities and of conflict and coöperation between villagers and open-country dwellers, the discussion now turns to certain economic aspects of village life.

Agricultural villages in all parts of the country serve the farmers in their respective communities in two ways, first by assisting them in the disposal of their surplus produce and secondly by supplying the machinery and equipment necessary to raising the crop. The first function of the village, marketing the surplus farm commodities, is a distinctly agricultural service, existing essentially for the benefit of the farmer. The second function, providing goods and services, is not limited to the needs of the farmer since the local store serves villagers as well as farmers. The first sections of this chapter will consider two aspects of the disposal of farm produce; first, by shipping through the village to other markets, and, secondly, its utilization by village factories before it is sent out of the community. The third point to be discussed in this chapter involves the service rendered the farmer by village retail stores and banks. The data examined in this chapter have been derived almost wholly from the Institute's field survey. Census facts relating to the professional services provided by the center have already been considered fully in *American Villagers*, the second publication of this series.

VILLAGE AGRICULTURAL MARKETS

The first requisite to successful marketing of any commodity is obviously a product that is sound and for which there is a demand. This discussion of marketing, therefore, presupposes a good product and effective demand and will consider the problem of its disposal from the point of view of the village. The process of marketing any farm product will be reviewed briefly in general terms, followed by its application to several specific commodities

raised in the 140 sample communities—dairy products, cotton, wheat, live stock and fruit.

When the product has been successfully raised the first question that presents itself to the farmer is whether to sell at once or to wait for more favorable prices. If he decides not to dispose of his crop immediately he requires storage facilities for its protection until he considers it advisable to sell. If this storage service is supplied, either by his own granary or by a village plant, he is saved from the danger of dumping his crop and selling it at a sacrifice. He may also require an extension of credit in order to postpone the sale of his product.

Whether he sells his crop at once or stores it for a time the farmer is sooner or later confronted with the problem of transportation. The first part of the journey, from farm to village terminal, is commonly assumed to be the responsibility of the farmer as seller, although sometimes the buyer collects the produce. As a rule, however, the buyer or his agent takes charge of the commodity at the village and conveys it to larger markets elsewhere. Practically every one of the 140 places studied is equipped to act as a shipping center, since all but four are located directly on a railroad and more than one-fourth are served by two or three roads. The adequacy of the service rendered by these carriers, however, cannot be measured by the number of roads that pass through a place. Railroad transportation is supplemented in some communities by interurban electric trains, bus lines, motor trucks or waterway. The need for and utilization of these additional facilities are modified by the product which is to be marketed.

FARMERS' COÖPERATIVES

One of the most remarkable features of the marketing facilities in these 140 communities is the extensive development of farmers' coöperative agencies. More than three communities in four have coöperative agencies of one kind or another. Approximately one-fourth report organizations that only sell for the farmer, while the remaining half includes places with agencies that buy supplies for the farmer as well as market his produce. Few communities report agencies that are solely purchasing organizations. Table XXVI shows the distribution of coöperative

agencies by type of activity in each crop area. Communities in the Corn Belt and the corn and winter wheat area have coöperative organizations more frequently than communities in other crop areas, while those in the Cotton Belt are most often without such agencies. The coöperative that both buys and sells is most prominent in all areas except in the hay-and-pasture, Rocky Mountain and South Pacific areas, where agencies doing nothing but market the farmers' produce are relatively well developed. The nature of the commodity sold coöperatively naturally depends upon the character of agricultural production in a given area.

TABLE XXVI—COOPERATIVE BUYING AND SELLING ACTIVITIES

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Number of Villages With</i>			
		<i>No Coöperative Agency</i>	<i>Coöperatives that Buy Only</i>	<i>Coöperatives that Sell Only</i>	<i>Coöperatives that Buy and Sell</i>
Total	140	21	8	34	77
Hay and pasture	38	7	4	10	17
Corn	31	3	1	4	23
Corn and wheat	19	2	3	3	11
Spring wheat	5	1	..	1	3
Cotton	23	6	..	4	13
Great Plains	4	1	..	1	2
Rocky Mountain	6	1	..	4	1
North Pacific	5	..	..	2	3
South Pacific	9	..	..	5	4

The most significant issue, from the point of view of village participation in and profits from marketing, is whether or not the savings of coöperative action are made at the expense of the village. Unfortunately the data at hand do not warrant an answer to this question. It must be borne in mind, however, that although the man who formerly did the marketing privately in the village may be supplanted and thus lose his source of income through coöperation, the farmer makes a corresponding gain which may come back to the village through his increased purchasing power. The annual income of the village may thus be but little affected by the difference between private and coöperative marketing.

The following description of village participation in marketing the farmers' produce is limited to five commodities. (1) Dairy marketing, an important service to the farmer in the hay-and-pasture region, is discussed as it was observed in seven-

teen communities, ten in New York and seven in Wisconsin. (2) Cotton marketing is illustrated by twenty-two southern villages. (3) Five communities in North Dakota and Minnesota and six in Kansas have been examined in order to see how the village contributes to the marketing of spring and winter wheat. (4) The disposal of live stock is shown in thirty-seven places in the Middle West, in Corn Belt and adjacent communities. (5) The function of the village as a fruit market is exemplified by seven California communities. Since the production of each of these five commodities is distinctly localized there is practically no repetition of villages in the following paragraphs.

DAIRYING

The village whose dairy-marketing facilities are limited to a milk or cream station, the agency listed most frequently in the tabulation below, is only a receiving station and shipping point. Villages with either creameries or condenseries, on the other hand, add to the value of the product by a manufacturing process. The village thus benefits by having an additional source of em-

	10 <i>New York</i> <i>Villages</i>	7 <i>Wisconsin</i> <i>Villages</i>
Privately owned milk or cream stations	10	1
Coöperative milk or cream stations	7	—
Privately owned creameries	5	5
Coöperative creameries	1	6
Privately owned condenseries	4	1
Privately owned ice cream factory	—	1

ployment for its workers. Every trade center located in a dairy section, whether it manufactures or not, profits greatly by the fact that the farmer has a steady, year-round pay check which enables him to pay cash at the village store. The above markets were reported by seventeen villages.¹

COTTON

The usual procedure in the Cotton Belt is for the farmer to bring his crop to a privately owned gin either in the village or

¹ Although the dairy marketing facilities outside the village are apparently limited, complete information was not obtained from all communities. One Wisconsin community reports ten cheese factories in the country and another three creameries and one cheese factory. Only one village, and that in New York, reports that whole milk is transported from the farm by trucks without passing through the village.

in the open country and then to take the ginned cotton elsewhere to be stored or sold. The village thus serves largely as a storage house, although four villages also report textile mills and three have factories using cotton by-products. The largest local buyers are the general merchants. They often own the crop in advance as a result of having extended credit to the farm tenant or owner. Village capital in this way finances farm operations and also derives a profit from the resale of the crop at a favorable price. The farmer is gradually developing coöperative pools for the sale of cotton in large quantities to outside buyers. This movement has to contend with the opposition of the local merchant and the suspicion of the farmer. Only one of these twenty-two communities reports a coöperative gin.

WHEAT

The essential function of the village as a wheat market lies in its storage and loading facilities, according to the tabulation below. The relatively large number of coöperative agencies, especially in the open country, tend to reduce the participation of the village business men in the marketing process. These open-country elevators load on railroad sidings built for that purpose outside the trade center. The Dakota communities are more independent of the village in this respect than those in Kansas:

	<i>5 North Dakota and Minnesota Villages</i>	<i>6 Kansas Villages</i>
Privately owned village elevators	5	4
Coöperative village elevators	2	5
Flour and feed mills	2	1
Privately owned country elevators	—	2
Coöperative country elevators	7	1

LIVE STOCK

Farmers' coöperative agencies practically control the marketing of live stock. All but two of the thirty-seven communities in the Middle West that raise live stock extensively report such agencies. The stock is usually shipped by rail from the village, although in at least one instance in Indiana cattle are loaded directly on an interurban trolley line without going through the

village. In most of these villages the stockyard at the edge of town is the only evidence of this important open-country industry.

FRUITS

Table XXVII shows, for each of seven fruit-raising communities in California, the leading agricultural product and the

TABLE XXVII—MARKETING AGENCIES IN SEVEN CALIFORNIA FRUIT-GROWING COMMUNITIES

<i>Community</i>	<i>Principal Agricultural Products</i>	<i>Coöperative Marketing Agencies</i>	<i>Private Market</i>
Banning	Almonds Apricots Peaches Prunes	1 almonds 1 prunes and apri- cots	3 prune driers 1 peach cannery
Corning	Apricots Dairy products Figs Olives Oranges Prunes Wool	1 almonds 1 prunes 1 peaches and figs 1 wool	5 fruit driers 2 olive oil plants
Exeter	Cattle Citrus fruit Raisins	2 citrus fruits 1 fruit 1 raisin	11 independent pack- ing houses
Fowler	Fruit Grapes	1 grapes 1 peaches and figs 1 raisins	4 raisin-drying and packing plants
Gridley	Dairy products Fruit Grain Rice	1 fruit 1 peaches 1 peaches and figs 1 prunes and apri- cots 1 rice	1 peach cannery 1 rice mill
Oakdale	Almonds Cattle Figs Milk Peaches Poultry Raisins Walnuts	1 almonds 1 cattle 1 milk 1 peaches and figs 1 poultry 1 raisins 1 walnuts	1 almond warehouse 1 creamery
Paso Robles	Almonds Cattle Grain	1 almonds 1 grain	1 creamery 1 local almond plant (belonging to co- operative)

coöperative and private agencies through which it is handled. No other commodity shows such variety and profusion of coöperative organizations as the fruit industry. These agencies, as a rule, are not local but are affiliated with county or state associations. They have their local stations for collecting, packing or preserving the fruit. Although no figures are available the field surveyors report that the bulk of the products is sold through these agencies. The establishments listed under private markets play a very secondary rôle in handling the fruit crop.

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Although most of the farmers' produce passes through the village directly to larger centers, a part of it undergoes a manufacturing process first.² A larger proportion of village factories than of the manufacturing establishments in the United States as a whole are engaged in preserving agricultural products. In 1923 about one factory in four in the entire country (26 per cent.) was engaged in the production of food and kindred products compared with about one in three in these 140 villages, the range for the villages being from 29 per cent. in the South to 38 per cent. in the Far West. The food-producing establishments located in villages are principally creameries, canneries, drying plants, and flour and grist mills. There are proportionately more food industries in the dairy, fruit and vegetable regions than in the wheat, corn and live-stock areas. In the dairy and fruit sections the village converts the product into a form more easily transported, thereby adding to its value and at the same time providing work for the villager. Where grain and live stock predominate, on the other hand, the village functions principally as a shipping point to more favorable markets elsewhere.

CAPITAL AND RAW MATERIAL

Village factories depend largely on their local communities both for their raw materials and for their capital, as is shown

² For the purpose of this discussion all concerns which change the form of the product are considered manufacturing industries. Establishments doing only work to the order of any individual customer, for example, saw mills and cotton gins, are not considered manufacturing industries according to the Census Bureau Classification which is followed in this chapter. The term "manufacture" as applied to villages, therefore, includes many small plants whose operations are relatively simple and which require but little machinery.

in Tables XXIX and XXX. The food industries in each region, without exception, use local raw material. The lumber industry ranks second in the utilization of home products. The textile,

TABLE XXVIII—GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF VILLAGE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

<i>Industry</i>	<i>All Regions</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Far West</i>
			<i>Number</i>		
Total	645	184	118	240	103
Food	215	58	34	84	39
Textiles	22	14	4	4	..
Iron and steel	11	3	3	5	..
Lumber	91	34	27	18	12
Leather	7	7	..	..	..
Rubber .....	..	..	..	..	..
Paper	179	37	28	83	31
Chemicals	20	2	8	7	3
Stone	23	4	2	12	5
Metals	4	3	..	1	..
Tobacco	11	7	..	4	..
Machinery	13	2	1	4	6
Musical instruments ...	4	..	..	4	..
Transportation	7	6	1	..	..
Railroad repair	3	..	1	1	1
Miscellaneous	35	7	9	13	6
			<i>Per Cent.</i>		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Food	33.3	31.5	28.9	35.0	37.9
Textiles	3.4	7.6	3.4	1.7	..
Iron and steel	1.7	1.6	2.6	2.0	..
Lumber	14.1	18.5	22.9	7.5	11.7
Leather	1.1	3.8	..	..	..
Rubber .....	..	..	..	..	..
Paper	27.8	20.1	23.7	34.6	30.1
Chemicals	3.1	1.1	6.8	2.9	2.9
Stone	3.6	2.2	1.7	5.0	4.8
Metals .....	.6	1.6	..	.4	..
Tobacco	1.7	3.8	..	1.7	..
Machinery	2.0	1.1	.8	1.7	5.8
Musical instruments ...	.6	..	..	1.7	..
Transportation	1.1	3.3	.8	..	..
Railroad repair .....	.5	..	.8	.4	1.0
Miscellaneous	5.4	3.8	7.6	5.4	5.8

tobacco and leather industries, which are found largely in New York and Pennsylvania villages, as a rule import their raw materials. The more industrialized communities, notably those

in the two states named, show the largest dependence on outside capital. In general, however, imported capital seems to be seldom invested to manufacture imported raw material.

TABLE XXIX—SOURCE OF RAW MATERIALS USED BY VILLAGE FACTORIES

Industry	Total Factories*	Number of Factories Using Raw Materials From		
		Local Sources	Local and Outside Sources	Outside Sources
		All Regions		
Total	306	235	8	63
Food	166	164	2	..
Lumber	55	41	2	12
Textile	13	1	2	10
Leather	2	..	..	2
Tobacco	11	..	..	11
All other	59	29	2	28
Middle Atlantic				
Total	130	86	5	39
Food	57	56	1	..
Lumber	31	22	1	8
Textile	9	..	1	8
Leather	2	..	..	2
Tobacco	7	..	..	7
All other	24	8	2	14
Middle West				
Total	107	80	3	24
Food	70	69	1	..
Lumber	12	7	1	4
Textile	4	1	1	2
Leather .....	..	..	..	..
Tobacco	4	..	..	4
All other	17	3	..	14
Far West				
Total	69	69	..	..
Food	39	39	..	..
Lumber	12	12	..	..
Textile .....	..	..	..	..
Leather .....	..	..	..	..
Tobacco .....	..	..	..	..
All other	18	18	..	..

* This table excludes all factories in the South and 22 in the Middle Atlantic, 51 in the Middle West and 3 in the Far West because of incomplete information.

These 140 agricultural villages, as a rule, have no natural advantage of site or labor supply that attracts both raw material

TABLE XXX—SOURCE OF CAPITAL INVESTED IN VILLAGE FACTORIES

Industry	Total Factories *	Number of Factories Deriving Capital From		
		Local Sources	Local and Outside Sources	Outside Sources
All Regions				
Total	281	223	15	43
Food	134	104	6	24
Lumber	55	49	1	5
Textiles	15	6	3	6
Leather	2	1	..	1
Tobacco	11	9	1	1
All other	64	54	4	6
Middle Atlantic				
Total	126	102	2	22
Food	50	41	..	9
Lumber	31	28	1	2
Textiles	11	5	..	6
Leather	2	1	..	1
Tobacco	7	7	..	..
All other	25	20	1	4
Middle West				
Total	87	62	12	13
Food	49	34	5	10
Lumber	12	11	..	1
Textiles	4	1	3	..
Leather .....	..	..	..	..
Tobacco	4	2	1	1
All other	18	14	3	1
Far West				
Total	68	59	1	8
Food	35	29	1	5
Lumber	12	10	..	2
Textiles .....	..	..	..	..
Leather .....	..	..	..	..
Tobacco .....	..	..	..	..
All other	21	20	..	1

* This table excludes all factories in the South and 26 in the Middle Atlantic, 71 in the Middle West and 4 in the Far West because of incomplete information.

and capital simultaneously. The following note on a Wisconsin village represents a distinctly unusual industrial situation:

The largest industry in . . . is the . . . Band Instrument factory. In 1918 Mr. . . . found himself crowded for room in Chicago. He wished to extend his factory, and considered moving since space was limited where he was, strikes were prevalent and labor was unsure. The residents of . . . thought that a large and steady payroll would be of great benefit to their town, that such an industry would not endanger the appearance of their town, and that it would fit in with their musical interests. Accordingly they decided to offer Mr. . . . an inducement to come. By canvassing each person in town they raised \$40,000 and perhaps a little more, with which to buy a site and build a factory.

NUMBER OF INDUSTRIES

Each of these 140 villages has, on the average, 4.6 manufacturing industries. In the Middle Atlantic the average is 6.6; in the South, 3.9; in the Middle West, 4.0; and in the Far West, 4.7. When the newspapers are excluded the average for the 140 villages drops to 3.3 factories, ranging from 2.62 for the Middle West to 5.25 for the Middle Atlantic.³ Middle Atlantic and southern villages show the highest average number of establishments in the manufacture of lumber and lumber products, such as furniture, barrels, posts and boats. The Middle Atlantic villages also outnumber other regions in industries other than food, lumber and paper, principally textiles, leather products, and tobacco. The manufacture of chemicals, largely fertilizers, is more frequent in the South than elsewhere, while brickyards and cement plants are most frequent in the villages of the Middle West and the Far West.

As might have been expected, the facts for these 140 villages indicate that the number of industries, including newspapers, tends to increase with the size of the population. Only one-third of the small villages, those of less than 1,000 population, have four or more industrial establishments, compared with approximately two-thirds of the medium-size villages, those with between 1,000 and 1,750 inhabitants, and three-fourths of the places with over 1,750. The data shown in Table XXXI indicate, however, that the region in which a village is located may be as important a factor as its size in increasing the number of industries. In the Middle Atlantic states, for example, villages of each size show a

³ See Table XXVIII.

relatively large number of industries, while one of the small Pennsylvania villages reports the largest number of industries, fifteen.

TABLE XXXI—NUMBER OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN VILLAGES OF VARYING SIZE

<i>Region</i>	<i>Small Villages</i>			<i>Medium Villages</i>			<i>Large Villages</i>		
	<i>No Fac- tories</i>	<i>Less Than 4</i>	<i>4 or More</i>	<i>No Fac- tories</i>	<i>Less Than 4</i>	<i>4 or More</i>	<i>No Fac- tories</i>	<i>Less Than 4</i>	<i>4 or More</i>
All regions	4	35	19	1	20	36	..	9	26
Middle Atlantic ..	..	5	9	..	..	10	..	..	4
South	3	10	7	..	4	6	..	3	7
Middle West ....	..	17	2	..	12	17	..	2	10
Far West	1	3	1	1	4	3	..	4	5

EMPLOYMENT

Village manufacturing plants seldom employ many workers. The data shown in Table XXXII, which includes all plants, except newspapers, that employ approximately the same number of workers throughout the year, show that less than one-half employ as many as ten persons regularly. In the Middle Atlantic villages, however, more than one factory in five employs at least

TABLE XXXII—NUMBER OF REGULAR EMPLOYEES IN VIL-
LAGE FACTORIES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Number of Factories Employing</i>			
		<i>Less Than 10</i>	<i>10 to 50</i>	<i>50 to 100</i>	<i>100 and Over</i>
All regions	437	237	134	37	29
Middle Atlantic	148	62	49	20	17
South	75	38	30	5	2
Middle West	145	101	36	5	3
Far West	69	36	19	7	7

fifty workers, the paper and printing industries employing the largest number per establishment, 745 persons being employed in five plants, or an average of 149.

In the South the textile industries employ more workers per plant than any other, the average reported by four mills being 92. The largest factories in the Middle West are those making musical instruments: a band instrument factory employs 250

workers and a piano factory, 200. In the Far West lumber factories employ the largest number of workers per plant, 440 in one instance.

The village offers regular employment to but few persons outside the corporation limits. Seasonal workers, however, come more frequently from the country than from the village, as Table XXXIII shows. Non-agricultural settlements outside the village are found principally where industry is most highly developed. Ten or twelve houses grouped outside the limits of a Pennsylvania borough are owned for the most part by a local factory and rented to its employees. Similarly in another Pennsylvania village it is stated that "of the forty-eight men who work by the month, eleven are from outside the incorporated limits. . . .

TABLE XXXIII—REGULAR AND SEASONAL EMPLOYEES IN VILLAGE FACTORIES RESIDENT IN THE COUNTRY

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Factories Reporting</i>	<i>Regular Employees</i>		<i>Seasonal Employees</i>	
		<i>Total Number</i>	<i>Per Cent. from Country</i>	<i>Total Number</i>	<i>Per Cent. from Country</i>
All regions	459	14,356	12.7	1,962	42.4
Middle Atlantic ..	149	5,802	8.5	228	100.0
South	90	1,670	3.9	400	26.8
Middle West	148	2,381	1.6	708	28.0
Far West	72	4,503	27.1	626	46.2

These employees are not farmers but people who have always done this kind of work." In a few villages in the Middle Atlantic states employers send conveyances into the farming districts to collect their workers.

It was found in some instances, almost all within the Middle Atlantic states, that the local labor market was supplemented from outside when a village was within commuting distance of a large town or small city.

The tendency for the younger members of the community to leave the village and seek employment elsewhere, clearly indicated by the census facts on age- and sex-distribution,⁴ was apparently causing concern to villages. They recognized a dearth of attractive occupational opportunities in the village.

The results of a questionnaire submitted to high-school pupils indicate that the children of villagers will probably continue to

⁴ See *American Villagers*.

leave home. This questionnaire asked, among other things, how many intended to settle in their own community when they grew up. Table XXXIV shows that fewer than one in five of the entire group of more than 5,000 pupils looked forward to living in his own community. Almost the same number were undecided, while the large majority, over 60 per cent., planned to live elsewhere. In both the South and the Far West, the only regions in which large numbers were interviewed, more girls than boys intended to leave home.

TABLE XXXIV—ATTITUDES OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS TOWARD LIVING IN THEIR HOME COMMUNITIES

Region	Total Number	Pupils Who Expect to Settle					
		In Home Community Per Number Cent.	Elsewhere		Undecided		
			Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
All regions	5,086	952	18.7	3,226	63.4	908	17.9
Middle Atlantic ...	117	14	12.0	88	75.2	15	12.8
South	2,095	438	20.9	1,396	66.6	261	12.5
Middle West	437	47	10.7	262	60.0	128	29.3
Far West	2,437	453	18.6	1,480	60.7	504	20.7
Boys							
All regions	2,187	437	20.0	1,321	60.4	429	19.6
Middle Atlantic ...	51	5	9.8 *	36	70.6 *	10	19.6 *
South	819	181	22.1	530	64.7	108	13.2
Middle West	219	28	12.8	128	58.4	63	28.8
Far West	1,098	223	20.3	627	57.1	248	22.6
Girls							
All regions	2,899	515	17.8	1,905	65.7	479	16.5
Middle Atlantic ...	66	9	13.6 *	52	78.8 *	5	7.6 *
South	1,266	257	20.3	866	68.4	143	11.3
Middle West	218	19	8.7	134	61.5	65	29.8
Far West	1,339	230	17.2	853	63.7	256	19.1

* Base less than 100.

The limitation of opportunities for employment, resulting as it does in the temporary or permanent exodus of workers from the village, gives rise to the "payroll" fixation encountered by the field investigators in all parts of the country. The village business men are convinced that if factories could be induced to come in, with their weekly pay envelopes, they would not only stimulate

trade but would increase the occupational opportunities of the town. Accordingly chambers of commerce or other similar groups are organized. Such organizations are reported in eight of the twenty-eight Middle Atlantic villages, in eight of the thirty villages in the South, in forty-six of the sixty places in the Middle West, and in all but one of the twenty-two Far West villages.

Strenuous and costly efforts are made to attract industries. Many examples are cited by the field investigators of the offering of bonuses, of free sites and of local capital optimistically invested in schemes to convert this village or that into a prosperous manufacturing center. The factories thus obtained, however, frequently fail. The reasons for such failures, as reported by local observers, are principally poor management, insufficient capital and the destruction of the plant by fire. The number of failures caused by poor management and lack of capital certainly indicate a low state of industrial vitality, and it is obvious that a really thriving business would not be abandoned because a building burned down. The real cause of industrial failure in the village probably is, however, that in going beyond such manufacturing processes as are distinctly related to the produce of the farmer and which are economical because they facilitate the transportation of the farm product, the village ventures into a field in which it competes unsuccessfully with the city factory.

RETAIL STORES AND BANKS

The service of the village to the farmer is not limited to finding a market for farm produce. The farmer is not economically self-sufficient today, and he must depend upon sources outside of his village and community for many goods and services required both as a consumer and as a producer. If he is to maintain the standard of life customary in his community and to produce his crops efficiently, he must buy many things made elsewhere. The village is thus a link between the city factory and the country consumer, as well as between the farm producer and the urban consumer. Moreover, the farmer often needs credit in order to buy manufactured goods and to carry on his productive operations to the best advantage pending the sale of his crop. If he is to hold his crop for a more favorable price the farmer must not only have storage facilities, but money or credit to carry him

until the crop is sold. The village can thus perform two outstanding commercial services for the farmer: it can supply him with merchandise and it can provide him with credit.

The conception of a trade area and the factors influencing its size have been dealt with at length in the second chapter of this volume. The effectiveness with which the village serves its contiguous farm territory in merchandising and in finance will now be considered. The first point taken up will be the competition experienced by local merchants within this trade area from both

TABLE XXXV—FAMILY TRADE CENTER REPORTED BY HIGH-SCHOOL PUPILS

Region	Number of Families	Per Cent. Trading at					
		Village	Nearest City	Village and Nearest City	Near-by Villages and Cities	Mail-Order House	Village and Mail-Order House
		By Village Pupils					
All regions	2,759	75.1	4.6	8.5	6.6	.7	4.5
Middle Atlantic	105	71.4	3.8	8.6	9.5	1.9	4.8
South	1,123	80.6	6.1	6.6	4.0	.7	2.0
Middle West	271	87.4	2.2	3.3	3.0	.4	3.7
Far West	1,260	67.9	3.9	11.3	9.5	.6	6.8
By Country Pupils							
All regions	2,359	57.7	16.1	9.3	9.5	1.4	6.0
Middle Atlantic	31	38.8 *	16.1 *	3.2 *	35.5 *	3.2 *	3.2 *
South	952	68.4	17.8	5.1	5.4	1.7	1.6
Middle West	168	77.4	8.3	3.0	4.8	2.4	4.1
Far West	1,208	47.1	15.8	13.6	12.7	.9	9.9

* Base less than 100.

private and coöperative local selling agencies and from outside sources. The remainder of the chapter will present the data relative to banking facilities in these 140 sample communities.

The majority of farm and village families do the greater part of their trading at the village store; but still the local merchants are far from having a monopoly over their trade areas. The reports from high-school pupils presented in Table XXXV show that near-by villages, cities and mail-order houses are all competitors of the village itself for local patronage.⁵ The question

⁵ This questionnaire was submitted only to the children in villages visited during the school year, hence returns from the Middle Atlantic and Middle Western states, visited largely during the summer months, are limited in number. Comparisons between census regions are perhaps somewhat vitiated by the unequal distribution of cases.

put to these school children was, "Where does your family do most of its trading?"; hence purchases made through coöperative agencies are credited to the village, although they may not be made at privately owned and operated stores. The outstanding difference between the village and country families is that the farmer makes greater use of city stores.

DUPLICATION OF RETAIL SERVICES

Judged by the duplication of retail services offered, competition between local merchants is keen. Table XXXVI shows how frequently stores of five types were found in forty Middle West villages.⁶ The fact that there is often considerable duplication of retail services in villages is shown by the example of two villages which report nine general stores apiece and that of one village with eight grocery stores. The comment on the local situation made by a merchant in Kansas probably applies to other places as well: "Every man seems to be afraid the other fellow will

TABLE XXXVI—FREQUENCY OF SELECTED RETAIL STORES IN 40 VILLAGES IN THE MIDDLE WEST

Number of Stores	Villages with Specified Number of				
	General Stores	Grocery Stores	Drug Stores	Hardware Stores *	Garages and Filling Stations †
None	4	3	0	3	..
One	3	11	11	1	..
Two	8	9	22	24	1
Three	15	6	6	10	9
Four	5	5	1	2	3
Five	2	2	0	0	3
Six	1	3	0	0	10
Seven	0	1	0	0	4
Eight	0	0	0	0	3
Nine	2	0	0	0	1
Ten	0	0	0	0	2
Eleven	0	0	0	0	1
Twelve	0	0	0	0	1

* General stores sell hardware in one town with no hardware store.

† Information missing for two of the forty villages.

get a nickel's worth of his business. We cannot put on a 'dollar day' because they are so jealous of each other. They do not see the good of advertising the town. If our store sends out a circular to the farmer the other store will match the bargain."

⁶ Information obtained for only forty of the total of sixty places.

Sometimes the competition exists between all the stores in a given village, each merchant pulling for himself, while in other instances only the large stores are involved. The methods of a merchant in an Iowa village illustrate how competition and duplication of service are interrelated. This man runs a general store, grocery and restaurant and is said to be trying to monopolize the trade of the community. The effect on the other stores has been that they have attempted to supply every one of the farmer's needs in every store. The meat market now has a grocery counter and in the rear of every store is found a surprising display of everything.

CHAIN STORES AND COÖPERATIVES

One in ten of the villages reporting its retail services in detail has at least one chain store financed by outside capital. Field investigators who visited these villages made frequent comment on the prevalence of nationally advertised goods. The stock of the small-town storekeeper is apparently beginning to be derived from the same source as that of the city store.

Coöperative buying, while not so frequent as coöperative marketing in these 140 communities, still offers considerable competition to village stores. Table XXVI, discussed under marketing, shows that groups organized for the sole purpose of buying are comparatively rare, being reported in only ten villages; but that there are in more than half the communities organizations that combine buying with marketing. Only twelve communities report a coöperative store, one in the Middle Atlantic, two in the South, eight in the Middle and one in the Far West. Two of these stores, both in the Middle West, are also marketing agencies.

The coöperative store keeps a stock of merchandise on hand while the other buying organization, as a rule, purchases a limited number of commodities for its members. These goods are bought only after a sufficiently large order has been placed with the organization. Table XXXVII shows that the nature of the articles handled by these agencies varies from region to region. In the Middle Atlantic villages the three commodities most frequently purchased are feed, fertilizer and twine; in the South, fertilizer, feed and seed; while in the Middle West coal is first, followed by feed, twine and general merchandise. In the Far

TABLE XXXVII—COMMODITIES BOUGHT BY FARMERS' CO-OPERATIVE AGENCIES

Number of Coöperative Agencies Buying
Specified Commodity in

Commodity	All Regions*	Middle Atlantic	South	Middle West	Far West
Feed	43	15	8	15	5
Fertilizer	34	15	15	4	..
Coal	24	1	1	18	4
Seed	23	4	8	8	3
Grain	17	5	1	8	3
Twine	16	7	..	9	..
General merchandise	13	..	2	9	2
Flour	12	..	5	6	1
Salt	11	3	..	8	..
Farm machinery	9	5	1	..	3
Groceries	8	4	..	3	1
Farm supplies	8	..	1	6	1
Lime	6	3	..	2	1
Hardware	4	..	1	3	..
Oil	4	..	..	4	..
Poultry	4	..	..	..	4
Gas	3	..	..	2	1
Spray	4	..	1	1	2
Army harness	2	..	..	2	..
Fencing	2	..	..	1	1
Sugar	2	1	..	1	..
Tiles	2	..	..	2	..
Wool	2	..	..	1	1
Auto tires	2	..	..	2	..
Apples	1	..	..	1	..
Beans	1	..	..	1	..
Cans	1	..	1	..	..
Cement	1	1	..	..	..
Corn	1	..	..	1	..
Eggs	1	..	..	..	1
Explosives	1	..	..	1	..
Fish	1	..	..	..	1
Fruit	1	..	..	1	..
Hay	1	..	..	..	1
Hog cholera serum	1	..	..	1	..
Irrigation materials	1	..	..	..	1
Live stock	1	..	..	..	1
Lumber	1	..	..	1	..
Meal	1	1	..	..	..
Oats	1	..	..	1	..
Orchard supplies	1	..	..	1	..
Paint	1	..	..	..	1
Phosphates	1	1	..	..	..
Produce	1	..	..	1	..
Roofing	1	..	1	..	..
Sacks	1	..	..	..	1
Sand	1	..	..	1	..
Soap	1	..	1	..	..
Soda	1	..	1	..	..
Soy beans	1	..	1	..	..
Tankage	1	1	..	..	..
Wheat	1	..	..	1	..

* Excludes the number of commodities bought by two of the 199 buying agencies because of incomplete information.

West, where coöperative buying is apparently not so extensively developed, feed and coal are purchased by the largest number of agencies.

MAIL-ORDER HOUSES

Complaints about the competition of mail-order houses were made to the Institute's surveyors in all parts of the country. The percentage of school children's families doing part or most of their buying from these agencies gives some justification for this protest, especially in the Far West, where 7.4 per cent. of the villagers and 10.8 per cent. of the farmers depend at least in part upon the mail-order houses. The local merchant appears to be under the impression that this is a practice peculiar to the farmer. The results shown in Table XXXV indicate, on the contrary, that an appreciable amount of the villager's money is also spent for mail-order commodities.

It is estimated by a storekeeper in a North Dakota village that 60 per cent. of the farmers' groceries are bought from mail-order houses. From a town in Indiana comes the report that farmers buy groceries by mail even when they save only twenty-six cents on an order and could make the same saving at the local cash chain store. The farmer persists in buying from the mail-order house even though he is frequently disappointed in the goods he receives. A story is told of a farm woman in Iowa who came into a shop and asked if she could open a package there which had just come through the mail. When opened this package disclosed three hats, a number of dresses, groceries and household goods. The enclosed receipt for the goods amounted to \$87.00. The woman looked the hats over, and not being satisfied with them, asked the merchant if she would take them into her stock. The request was refused and the hats, as well as much of the merchandise, were packed up by the husband to be returned. He figured up that the goods that were kept amounted to only \$34.00, and said, "I told you not to do it. We had to send these people a check for \$87.00, and now you are not satisfied. We could have bought the things in here and been trusted. Now we may never get our money back for this stuff."

COMPETITION OF NEAR-BY TOWNS

The evidence presented by the statements of high-school children about their family trade center indicates that the near-by town and city are more formidable rivals of the village store-keeper than the mail-order house. The percentage of families doing the greater part of their trading outside the village or dividing their patronage between local and outside shops is, for the entire group of students interviewed, about four times the proportion that relies wholly or in part on mail-order houses. It is impossible to compare, even tentatively, the proportion of local trade going to coöperatives with the part going outside the village; but it is probable, since only about half of the communities support coöperative buying agencies, that the total volume of town and city trade far exceeds the coöperative buying. According to the reports from pupils, 34.9 per cent. of country families trade at other towns or cities, as compared with only 19.7 per cent. of village families.

INFLUENCE OF ROADS

There seems to be a wide difference of opinion among the villagers as to the effect of improved roads upon trade with farmers. This question was discussed at length in a California village before the election. Even after road bonds had been voted, there were those who said the road would be no benefit to the village, that people who wished to come would come anyway and that the new road would take away more trade than it would bring in. The opposing group was certain, however, that if a good hotel were built the road would attract many sightseers to the valley, which is famous for the acres of sweetpeas that in season make it one of the beauty spots of America. The business men in a Nebraska village were said to be much agitated because the farmers bought extensively in Lincoln and Omaha, and they blamed improved roads and increased use of trucks. The field workers who visited the village, however, were of the opinion that the inefficiency of these same business men was largely responsible for their loss of trade. A more clear-sighted hardware dealer in an Indiana village complained that his customers bought in Richmond, but added: "They cannot be blamed, after all, be-

cause they can do better and they are going there anyway to take their cream and milk, so why stop in our village?"

CASH AND CREDIT

The most frequently reported grievance of the village merchant against the farmer was that he paid cash elsewhere and came to the local store for credit. When the village storekeeper attempted to put his business on a cash basis, however, the farmer seemed to lack the cash. His idea appeared to be that he had a right to long-time credit, and a large part of the business of local merchants was apparently on credit. For example, a hardware dealer in Iowa, who had extended \$12,000 in credit in the past year, stated that in his opinion only half of this amount needed to go on the books, the rest being accounted for by the farmer's habit of charging things. A young and progressive hardware merchant in a North Carolina town issued a statement that he would give any man 5 per cent. discount for cash and would add 10 per cent. for credit. In spite of this inducement farmers charged what they bought, even though they had the money in their pockets when they made the purchase. Another hardware dealer stated that he had no complaint against the large percentage of tenancy in his community in Indiana since it did not hurt his business, because a tenant was willing to pay his bills, whereas an owner sometimes thought the fact that he owned land gave him the privilege of running up bills. From an Iowa village came the report: "The farmer needs to be educated and the business man should do it. Instead, he is letting the farmer bully him. If a bill is sent to the farmer within a year's time he gets mad clean through."

The unlimited extension of mercantile credit to farmers reacts upon village business in numerous ways. The farmer, in criticizing the local store for its high prices, apparently does not realize that the credit upon which he insists is largely responsible for them. In a Kansas village, for example, it was reported that because of credit trade the merchant paid the farmers a little less for produce than was paid in neighboring towns and charged a higher price on some groceries. The farmers attempted to meet this situation by trading "on time" in the local stores while taking a part of their produce to the neighboring town. A second effect

of the credit system was that the merchant was required to have a large amount of capital. Young merchants, starting in business, often do not have resources enough for the undertaking and business is consequently kept largely in the hands of old conservative men of greater wealth. Their conservatism accounts for the lack of business progress in many towns. A third result of store credit, duplication of stock and lack of specialization, is particularly evident in the South, where a merchant often takes a mortgage on an unharvested crop. So long as the merchant holds the mortgage he must supply all the needs of the farmer, who cannot buy elsewhere because he has no security to offer. Each store, therefore, must carry a general stock.

The farmer justifies his practice in various ways. For years he has been allowed to settle his bills annually after the sale of

TABLE XXXVIII—FREQUENCY OF VILLAGE BANKS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Number of Villages With</i>				
		<i>None</i>	<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>Four</i>
All regions	140	1	44	78	15	2
Middle Atlantic	28	..	19	9	..	..
South	30	1	12	13	4	..
Middle West	60	..	6	44	9	1
Far West	22	..	7	12	2	1

his crops. Diversified farming, especially the introduction of dairying, has given him a more regular income than formerly, but he has not yet adapted his financial practices to this change. Furthermore, the farmer has been severely hurt by the depression in agriculture. The village merchant, not realizing the seriousness of the farmer's condition, is likely to mistake his inability to pay for unwillingness.

The extensive use of store credit by farmers in the communities visited raises a question of the adequacy of banking facilities and of financial service. As Table XXXVIII shows, each of the 140 villages except one has at least one bank. The events of the boom period indicate that in many communities banks made long-time loans very freely, in some instances,⁷ far too freely for the farmer's good.

In most villages banks are purely local institutions, handling the money of the community, owned by villagers and farmers and managed by men who have spent their lives in the town. In the

⁷ See Chap. I.

Far West, however, large banking institutions from San Francisco and Los Angeles are buying out local banks and substituting their own managers and policies. Resentment against this development is strong in some communities. These city organizations are entirely impersonal in their dealings with the community and are particularly zealous in checking extravagance on the part of the local borrower. The following comment on a California town made by the field worker illustrates what is happening in the Far West:

This village has two banks, both of which are branches of San Francisco institutions. Both banks are friendly to the farmers and one reports about 50 per cent. of its business with the open country. The city banks forced their way into the local situation. It is unfortunate that both banks now in the village are dominated by outside capital.

TABLE XXXIX—NATURE OF BANK INCORPORATION IN VILLAGES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Number of Banks That Are</i>			
		<i>National</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Private</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
All regions	253	95	134	7	17
Middle Atlantic	37	22	9	3	3
South	50	10	25	3	12
Middle West	125	44	78	1	2
Far West	41	19	22	..	..

In addition to their economic services, villages perform many other kinds of services to the inhabitants of the open country. The professional services so rendered have been presented in *American Villagers*,⁸ while other social services performed by villages will be discussed in subsequent chapters of this volume.

⁸ Chapter VII.

CHAPTER V

THE VILLAGE PUBLIC SCHOOL

PREVIOUS chapters have dealt with the structure of agricultural villages and their communities, their relationships with the surrounding countryside and the economic basis on which their affairs are conducted. The social aspects of village life remain to be considered. In the present chapter an effort will be made to present the salient facts about the school situation in villages, the next chapter will deal with the church, the succeeding two chapters with other social institutions and the public health problem, while the final chapter, entitled "Measuring Variations in Village Wealth," will attempt to correlate certain social and economic phases of village life.

The present chapter deals exclusively with the public schools in village communities and no attempt has been made to discuss parochial or other private schools because the number of such schools surveyed is too small to be significant. In the 140 villages there were fewer than a dozen private schools of all types.

The discussion falls under three main topics: (1) the quantitative facts about village schools; (2) the school situation in villages compared with the facts for the United States as a whole, and (3) the social contribution of the school.

TYPES OF SCHOOLS

Before taking up the first of these topics, it is necessary to classify the schools surveyed. This task was not easy. The survey disclosed wide variations in the terms employed. Different names in different localities defined the same thing, while often an identical term meant one thing in one part of the country but something quite different in another part. It is possible, however, to classify the schools of the 140 villages investigated under three main headings: Non-Consolidated; Consolidated, or Union as it is more commonly called in the West, and Independent.

The non-consolidated school belongs to the immediate village or rural district by which it is entirely supported for the benefit of the families of that community. A consolidated school is one resulting from a combination of two or more smaller schools for the sake of greater efficiency and in return serves all the districts whose schools it has displaced.¹ The independent school is supported by taxes levied in its behalf upon the special school district that it serves without reference to township or county boundaries, and is governed by a board elected by the taxpayers from among themselves. Thus it is free from all ties or obligations to, or interference from, township or county, save as the latter gives general supervision and in some states enforces state regulations.

TABLE XL—TYPES OF VILLAGE SCHOOLS

Region	Total	Non-Consolidated			Consolidated			Independent		
		Elementary School	Junior High School	High School	Elementary School	Junior High School	High School	Elementary School	Junior High School	High School
All regions	287	94	..	81	42	6	48	4	..	12
Middle Atlantic ..	56	23	..	23	5	..	5	..	..	..
South	62	19	..	16	11	2	10	..	..	4
Middle West	119	44	..	39	13	1	15	2	..	5
Far West	50	8	..	3	13	3	18	2	..	3

On the basis of these three major types the detailed classification of the 287 schools in the 140 villages surveyed is given in Table XL.

This table shows that in spite of growing interest and continued increase in consolidation during recent years, the great majority of schools in the villages surveyed belonged to the non-consolidated group, 179 schools of this type having been found as against ninety-six consolidated and sixteen independent schools. Consolidation, called union, has gone farthest in the Far West, where in only three instances were high schools controlled solely by the village. Elementary schools were part of a consolidated system in fourteen out of the twenty-two far western villages. Of thirty villages in the South, just one less than

¹ Cf. Rapier, *The Consolidated School*, p. 7. "A consolidated rural school may be defined tentatively as a school produced by bringing together the pupils of two or more single-room or other schools in a graded school of at least two rooms and two teachers for the purpose of better educational advantages. It is of various types and increases in excellence as it adds various features."

half were experimenting with some form of consolidation. These experiments were most in evidence in medium-size and small villages. A similar condition existed in the Middle West, one-third of the villages having had some kind of consolidated system. On the other hand, the Middle Atlantic states had attempted consolidation in only six out of twenty-eight villages investigated.

The table also divides the school into three parts—primary, grammar, and high—because this classification is still general throughout the country. The first two parts constitute the elementary school, and cover grades one to eight inclusive, while the remaining grades are the high-school grades.

Not all village high schools have the same schedule. The full high-school curriculum covers the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades. Some high schools, however, carry their stu-

TABLE XLI—VILLAGES WITH COMPLETE HIGH-SCHOOL COURSE

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total Number of Villages</i>	<i>Villages with Four-Year High-School Course</i>
All regions	140	111
Middle Atlantic	28	23
South	30	7
Middle West	60	59
Far West	22	22

dents only to the end of the eleventh or even to the end of the tenth grades. This was specially noticeable in the South, where, as shown by Table XLI, only seven of the thirty high schools surveyed gave the full four-year course. Two of the southern schools had two-year courses. A few of the Middle Atlantic villages also lacked the full four-year course, particularly where the Pennsylvania-German influence was strong.

Some experimentation with junior high schools has been begun and, as shown in the above table, three such schools were found in the Far West, two in the South, and one in the Middle West. The villages surveyed in the Middle Atlantic states had none. The junior high school usually covers the seventh, eighth and ninth grades, i.e., the last two of the elementary school and the first of the high school, and is designed to bridge the gap between the elementary method of teaching and the work

of the high school. Its aim also is to aid the child to find his vocation in life and thus avoid becoming a misfit in adulthood.

In addition to the public schools located in the villages themselves, the present investigation also studied 1,510 country schools located within the community boundaries of the 140 villages surveyed, 374 of them in neighborhoods. Out of this total number of country schools, 1,490 were grade schools and twenty were high schools.

FACTS ABOUT VILLAGE SCHOOLS

Turning now to the first main topic of the present discussion—the quantitative facts about village schools—the data can be conveniently grouped under three heads: (1) Facts about buildings and equipment; (2) Information about the teachers and pupils, and (3) Data about the general efficiency of the schools.

BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT

The facts gathered by the survey tend to show that nine-tenths of the village schools were reasonably well equipped and constructed, being built of brick, concrete or stone, and that only 10 per cent. of all buildings were in so poor a condition as to handicap school work. On the other hand, the majority of open-country schools were housed in frame buildings, the proportion varying from 87 per cent. in the Middle West to 100 per cent. in the Middle Atlantic region.

School buildings in villages erected since 1910 are of high-grade construction and equipment. The value of these newer buildings runs as high as \$290,000, which was the sum paid in 1923 by a village in southern California for its new union high school built at the peak of post-war high prices. This village suffered severely from the effects of deflation, as have several others caught in like reckless expansion, and with a debt of \$150,000 still to be paid off, the usefulness of the school as a community educational center is impaired. This debt will take fifteen years to clear at the present rate of \$10,000 a year, raised by a tax levy of \$1.10 imposed upon the five rural districts supporting the high school—a heavier tax than is paid by any other school district in that part of the state.

Direct connection between the age of a building and its lighting arrangements was observed. In the older schools cross lighting was almost always found, but this feature, now considered obsolete, seldom appeared in buildings erected within the last fifteen years. Village and open-country schools presented a great contrast in the quality of their artificial lighting; in the former

TABLE XLII—LIGHTING FACILITIES IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS

Region	Village Schools			Country Schools		
	Number	Per Cent.*		Number	Per Cent.	
		With Artificial Lighting	With Electric Lighting		With Artificial Lighting	With Electric Lighting
Middle Atlantic	35	97.1	91.4	207	36.8	1.5
South	43	85.8	79.0	185	40.0	3.7
Middle West	92	98.9	98.9	751	57.9	2.0
Far West	53	96.2	96.2	233	61.0	11.1

* Base less than 100.

electricity predominated, while in the latter, if artificial lighting existed, it was largely supplied by coal oil. In the Middle and Far West almost all village schools surveyed had electricity.

An increasingly important rôle in school and community life is being played by the school auditorium. Not only does its presence or absence largely condition the social program of a school, but frequently it is the only public gathering place in a village.

TABLE XLIII—VILLAGES WITH SCHOOL AUDITORIUMS

Region	Total Number of Villages	Villages with Auditoriums
All regions	140	111
Middle Atlantic	28	12
South	30	28
Middle West	60	49
Far West	22	22

This was specially true of the South, which ranked a close second to the Far West in number of villages having school auditoriums. School buildings in Middle Atlantic states were generally older than those elsewhere, many of them having been constructed before the value of an auditorium was recognized.

Many of these so-called auditoriums are simply rooms of extra size accommodating rather more people than the ordinary

classroom, and their seating accommodations are not necessarily commensurate to the needs of the village, much less of the entire community. Some villages are putting up communal auditoriums for the use of both school and community, such buildings comprising one large room with several smaller to serve as dressing-rooms, so that they can be used to present dramatics and concerts.

Where social, economic or political conditions prevented school expansion in a village, the situation has occasionally been met by unusual energy and perseverance on the part of the school principal or superintendent. Such an emergency existed at Pavo, Ga., and the principal inspired the boys of the agricultural class to build an auditorium with the help of only one paid carpenter. The building, of pine with a galvanized iron roof, is seventy feet by forty feet and has a seating capacity of 300, although about 700 people can be accommodated on the floor.

In the Far West and South every village school had its library, and indeed libraries were attached to the schools in all but seven of the villages surveyed, four of the seven being in the Middle Atlantic area.

TABLE XLIV—VILLAGES WITH SCHOOL LIBRARIES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total Number of Villages</i>	<i>Villages with Libraries</i>	<i>Average Number of Volumes</i>	<i>Average Number of Volumes Added Last Year</i>
Middle Atlantic	28	24	1,447	83
South	30	30	488	92
Middle West	60	57	1,451	83
Far West	22	22	751	79

Coming finally to miscellaneous items of equipment, the survey found that only sixteen village schools, half of them in Middle Atlantic states, failed to include at least one piano as part of their apparatus, many schools having two and three. The phonograph was most popular in the Middle West, nine-tenths of the village schools in that section using it, as against three-fourths of those in the Far West, two-thirds in the Middle Atlantic and one-fifth in the South, but at the time of the survey only two radio sets were found in village schools. About one-tenth of the schools in the Middle and Far West used the stereopticon and moving-picture machine. For the most part playgrounds were bare of apparatus.

A modern school plant at Buffalo Center, Ia., which is better than the average but by no means exceptional, furnishes an example of the conception held by many of these villages of what a school ought to be. It is described for that reason. Erected in 1923 at a cost of \$120,000, this consolidated school, serving an independent district embracing nine former rural school sub-districts, is built of brick trimmed with Indiana limestone, measures 130 feet by 140 feet, and houses beneath one roof elementary, junior and senior high schools.

In addition to all usual classrooms there are two study halls, a library, completely equipped laboratories, and three rooms devoted to manual training where shelves for the historical library of the new City Hall were made by boys of the training class. Girls of junior high school receive lessons in cooking and domestic science in a large cafeteria, where hot lunches are served to students, and which is used for school parties and other community affairs.

A unique feature of the school is the gymnasium that can be used as a theater, with a seating capacity of 676, and boasting a stage with footlights, two sets of scenery, border lights and velour center-opening curtain. It is also fitted with a motion-picture booth, a silver fiber screen and a 5-A Powers projector. Besides school plays, moving-pictures and athletic contests, community entertainments are given in this specially designed auditorium, as when the local branch of the American Legion paid off its debt of \$450 by putting on a minstrel show for two evenings, charging thirty-five cents a ticket.

Separate rooms are provided for the principal, physical instructors, music supervisor and school nurse, and a rest room for the teachers. The whole school is properly lighted and ventilated. Two large motor-driven fans supply the gymnasium and the rest of the building with air cleansed and permeated with the right amount of moisture by an air washer.

TEACHERS

The number of teachers employed in the 1,803 village and open-country schools covered by this study was 3,868. Of this number, 2,077 were found in the 287 village schools, while the remainder were teachers in the 1,510 open-country schools. This means that the great majority of country schools have one

teacher to the school, while village schools have an average of seven teachers each. In addition, the village schools have the better-trained teachers. Data on this point, which were secured for 3,753 of the 3,868 teachers, are summarized in Table XLV and show that in the Middle West nineteen out of every twenty teachers who are college graduates are employed in village schools. Among teachers who are normal-school graduates this ratio is one to six in favor of the village schools. With slight variation these figures hold for the South and Middle Atlantic

TABLE XLV—TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS

Region	Total	Teachers Reporting Their Training As					
		Less		Normal		College	
		Than Normal	Coun-	Village	Coun-	Village	Coun-
		Village	try	Number	try	Village	try
All regions	3,753	396	1,308	810	315	848	76
Middle Atlantic ..	555	75	195	145	41	91	8
South	650	86	190	130	56	174	14
Middle West	1,738	196	765	339	55	369	14
Far West	810	39	158	196	163	214	40
<i>Per Cent.</i>							
All regions	100.0	10.5	34.9	21.6	8.4	22.6	2.0
Middle Atlantic ..	100.0	13.5	35.1	26.1	7.4	16.4	1.5
South	100.0	13.2	29.2	20.0	8.6	26.8	2.2
Middle West	100.0	11.3	44.0	19.5	3.2	21.2	.8
Far West	100.0	4.8	19.5	24.2	20.1	26.4	5.0

states. Distribution in the Far West is rather more equitable. There the open country employs about half the normal-school graduates but only three out of every twenty college-trained teachers. It is also significant in this region that in village and country alike, teachers with less than normal-school training are relatively few—only 25 per cent. having less than this training, as against 35 per cent. in the Middle West, 42.4 per cent. in the South and 72.3 per cent. in the Middle Atlantic states.

As shown by Table XLVI the larger villages in each region attract the better trained teachers.

This analysis into the training of teachers indicates that on the whole the qualifications of the teachers in the villages studied were far above the rural averages for the United States as a

whole. The Commissioner of Education in a recent report states that only half of the 300,000 rural teachers of the United States completed the full four-year high-school course and that 30,000, or one-tenth, did not progress beyond the eighth grade.

That better training improves the economic status of the teacher was ascertained by comparing the salaries of different grades of teachers in the four regions, with the following results:

In the South no teacher with less than normal-school train-

TABLE XLVI—TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN VILLAGE SCHOOLS,
BY SIZE OF VILLAGE

Region	Total	<i>Teachers Reporting Their Training As</i>								
		<i>Less Than Normal</i>			<i>Normal</i>			<i>College</i>		
		<i>Small Villages</i>	<i>Medium Villages</i>	<i>Large Villages</i>	<i>Small Villages</i>	<i>Medium Villages</i>	<i>Large Villages</i>	<i>Small Villages</i>	<i>Medium Villages</i>	<i>Large Villages</i>
		<i>Number</i>								
All regions	2,054	124	204	68	181	405	224	213	362	273
Middle Atlantic .	311	31	28	16	38	88	19	36	41	14
South	390	30	48	8	38	61	31	44	76	54
Middle West . . .	904	56	110	30	61	174	104	89	169	111
Far West	449	7	18	14	44	82	70	44	76	94
		<i>Per Cent.</i>								
All regions	100.0	6.0	10.0	3.3	8.8	19.7	10.9	10.4	17.6	13.3
Middle Atlantic .	100.0	10.0	9.0	5.1	12.2	28.3	6.1	11.6	13.2	4.5
South	100.0	7.7	12.3	2.1	9.7	15.6	7.9	11.3	19.5	13.9
Middle West . . .	100.0	6.2	12.2	3.3	6.7	19.3	11.5	9.8	18.7	12.3
Far West	100.0	1.6	4.0	3.1	9.8	18.3	15.6	9.8	16.9	20.9

ing received more than \$1,200 a year. In the Middle West and Middle Atlantic states the percentages of such teachers earning more than this figure was 3.8 and 2.4 respectively. In the Far West region, where the average salary is above \$1,200, 85 per cent. of those with less than normal-school training failed to earn more than this figure.

Of teachers with normal-school training, one-tenth in the Middle Atlantic region, one-twentieth in the South, one-third in the Middle West and one-half in the Far West received \$1,200 a year and over.

Of college-trained teachers, one-third in the Middle Atlantic

and southern regions, and nine-tenths in the Middle and Far West regions received \$1,200 a year or more.

Of the approximately 3,800 teachers included in this survey, only three with less than normal-school training received as much as \$2,000 a year, whereas about 2 per cent. of normal-school and

TABLE XLVII—AVERAGE SALARY OF TEACHERS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS

Region	Number of Teachers	Average Salary	
		Village \$	Country \$
Middle Atlantic	555	1,244	870
South	650	1,153	689
Middle West	1,738	1,365	700
Far West	810	1,670	1,157

TABLE XLVIII—COMPARISON BETWEEN TRAINING AND SALARY OF TEACHERS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS

Region	Number of Teachers	Per Cent. of Teachers Receiving						
		Under \$1,000	\$1,000 to \$1,200	\$1,200 to \$1,400	\$1,400 to \$1,600	\$1,600 to \$2,000	\$2,000 to \$2,400	\$2,400 and Over
		Less than Normal Training						
Middle Atlantic	254	85.8	9.4	2.0	.4	2.4	..	..
South	276	94.6	5.4	..	..	..	..	..
Middle West	961	86.7	9.9	2.9	.2	.2	..	.1
Far West	184	63.6	21.2	6.5	6.5	1.1	1.1	..
Normal Training								
Middle Atlantic	176	53.9	31.2	11.4	.6	.6	2.3	..
South	186	80.1	15.1	2.2	1.0	.6	1.0	..
Middle West	394	24.4	42.4	20.8	5.1	5.8	1.0	.5
Far West	359	20.0	26.5	34.3	11.4	5.6	1.7	.5
College Training								
Middle Atlantic	100	9.0	30.0	30.0	7.0	10.0	6.0	8.0
South	188	51.6	14.4	5.8	4.8	10.6	6.4	6.4
Middle West	383	2.9	5.7	37.4	23.5	17.5	5.7	7.3
Far West	254	2.7	7.9	19.7	13.4	29.1	13.8	13.4

from 10 to 25 per cent. of college-trained teachers (depending on the region) drew salaries exceeding this sum.

Comparisons of teachers' salaries in village and country schools according to region and of all teachers' salaries according to the extent of their training are given above in Tables XLVII and XLVIII.

As shown by Table XLIX from twenty to twenty-four is the predominant age of rural school teachers in both village and country. Though this conclusion holds in general for the Far West as for all other regions, a trend toward teachers of a maturer age can be observed in that region.

Relatively few of these teachers are graduates of the schools in which they teach. In all regions except the Middle West less than 10 per cent. of the teaching force are products of the local school. In the Middle West the figure is 16.3 per cent. A majority of the villages appear to have a settled policy against employing local talent. Some schools have one or two local teachers,

TABLE XLIX—AGE-DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total Number of Teachers</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Teachers</i>									
		<i>Under 20</i>	<i>20 to 25</i>	<i>25 to 30</i>	<i>30 to 35</i>	<i>35 to 40</i>	<i>40 to 45</i>	<i>45 to 50</i>	<i>50 to 55</i>	<i>55 to 60</i>	<i>60 and Over</i>
All regions	3,549 *	6.0	37.4	22.3	12.5	8.9	4.7	3.6	2.7	.7	1.2
Middle Atlantic ..	519	3.8	36.2	19.7	13.7	11.8	3.1	5.2	3.1	1.7	1.7
South	634	4.1	38.0	23.5	12.9	8.5	4.9	3.6	2.1	.8	1.6
Middle West	1,673	8.4	40.1	25.0	11.4	6.1	3.7	2.0	2.0	.7	.6
Far West	723	3.7	31.4	17.0	13.7	13.6	8.0	6.4	4.4	..	1.8

* This total does not agree with Table XLV as complete information concerning teachers' ages could not be obtained.

either inherited from former days or employed because of some emergency. Most of the teachers employed in their home towns were found to be in the two or three villages in each region which adhered to the policy of employing local women as a matter of choice for reasons of "economy" and "to keep what money we do pay at home."

PUPILS

The total number of pupils attending the 1,803 village and open-country schools was 95,264. Of this number 37,936 attended the 1,510 country schools, while 57,328 went to the 287 village schools. Of the latter group, 18,215 were high-school pupils, while the remainder attended the grade schools in villages. The regional distribution of these pupils is given in Table L.

Of the village high-school pupils nearly half, 45.6 per cent., came from the country. Among regions there was little variation from this average. The proportion of country pupils in village high schools was lowest in the Middle Atlantic states where the figure was 41.2 per cent. and highest in the Far West with 49.1 per cent. The variation is greater in the grade schools but even in them almost one-fourth of the enrollment of village

TABLE L—RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN VILLAGE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Region	Total Enrollment	High School Residence				Grade School Residence			
		Total	Vil- lage	Coun- try	Not Known	Total	Vil- lage	Coun- try	Not Known
All regions ...	57,328 *	18,215	8,770	7,360	2,085 †	39,113	23,839	7,538	7,736 †
Middle Atlantic	8,710	2,758	474	333	1,951	5,952	1,267	174	4,511
South	12,163	3,254	1,765	1,355	134	8,909	5,071	2,680	1,158
Middle West ..	24,099	8,385	4,590	3,795	..	15,714	11,277	2,370	2,067
Far West	12,356	3,818	1,941	1,877	..	8,538	6,224	2,314	..

* Excludes Negro children.

† Large number of students with unknown residence is due to the fact that certain villages were surveyed in the summer when the schools were closed and it was impossible to secure the records.

schools comes from the country. The southern villages attract proportionately more country children to their grade schools than other regions, 34.6 per cent. of their enrollment coming from farming areas. Grade schools in the Middle Atlantic villages get only 12.1 per cent. of their pupils from this source. The other two regions approach the average of 24.0 per cent.

TABLE LI—HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATES CONTINUING THEIR EDUCATION, ACCORDING TO TYPE OF INSTITUTION

Region	Total No. of Grad- uates	Graduates Continuing Education					
		Total Number	Non- Agri- cultural College	Agri- cultural College	Normal School	Busi- ness School	Other Insti- tutions
Middle Atlantic	268	122	48	2	40	13	19
South	462	225	120	32	33	27	13
Middle West	1,474	473	203	19	146	49	56
Far West	574	272	122	24	90	36	10

An attempt was made to discover how many young people from villages attended educational institutions after graduation from high school and the kind of institution they attended. Although a smaller proportion of the population between the ages of 14 and 21 attend school in the South than elsewhere, the per-

centage of students who continued their education was highest in the South, 48.7 per cent. going on to institutions of higher learning. The Far West ranked second, with 47.4 per cent., followed by the Middle Atlantic states with 45.5 per cent., while the Middle West fell far behind the other three regions with only 32.1 per cent.

Of those high-school graduates who continued their education, Table LII shows that 53.3 per cent. in the South entered non-agricultural colleges. This is the highest percentage in any region. The Middle West, with a smaller proportion of graduates entering any kind of university, sent 42.9 per cent. to col-

TABLE LII—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATES CONTINUING THEIR EDUCATION, ACCORDING TO TYPE OF INSTITUTION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Non- Agricul- tural College</i>	<i>Agricul- tural College</i>	<i>Normal School</i>	<i>Business School</i>	<i>Other* Insti- tutions</i>
Middle Atlantic	100	39.3	1.6	32.8	10.7	15.6
South	100	53.3	14.2	14.7	12.0	5.8
Middle West	100	42.9	4.0	30.9	10.4	11.8
Far West	100	41.2	8.8	33.1	13.2	3.7

* "Other institutions" include trade schools, institutes of technology, nurses' training schools and similar institutions, the proportion of students attending being too small to analyze separately.

leges as against 41.2 per cent. in the Far West and 39.3 per cent. in the Middle Atlantic states. Agricultural colleges were relatively unpopular in the Middle West; only 4.0 per cent. of its high-school graduates continued their education by learning scientific farming, while in the Far West this percentage was 8.8, in the South 14.2 per cent. but in the more industrial Middle Atlantic 1.6 per cent.

In the Middle West more students went to agricultural colleges from general or diversified farming communities than from wheat, corn or dairy centers, but in the Middle Atlantic states those attending these colleges came from dairy communities.

An effort was made to determine whether or not the presence of agriculture in the high-school curriculum increased or lessened the probability of the student's entering an agricultural college. The results were entirely inconclusive. In some communities graduates of high-school agricultural courses stated they did not need more training, but on the other hand, several villages which

sent the highest proportion of their graduates to agricultural colleges had a four-year course in agriculture in the high school. In some communities the farmers considered the high-school course as "practical," but contended that colleges of agriculture trained men away from the farm for teaching or other positions less immediately related to farm problems.

The small proportion of graduates entering agricultural colleges is explained to some extent by the attitude of high-school boys toward farming as a life work. Nearly one thousand were asked whether or not they would consider farming as a permanent occupation. An overwhelming majority replied in the negative. Table LIII gives the result.

TABLE LIII—ATTITUDES OF HIGH-SCHOOL BOYS TOWARD FARMING AS A LIFE WORK

Region	Number Reporting	Favor Farming		Do Not Favor Farming	
		Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
Middle Atlantic	119	35	29.4	84	70.6
South	376	93	24.7	283	75.3
Middle West	179	16	8.9	163	91.1
Far West	187	33	17.6	154	82.4

The second largest group of high-school graduates attend normal schools, the proportions being 33.1 per cent. in the Far West, 32.8 per cent. in the Middle Atlantic region and 30.9 per cent. in the Middle West. In the South only 14.7 per cent. enter normal school, which is but slightly larger than the proportion attending agricultural colleges.

The facts also indicate that high-school pupils prefer a business career to that of agriculture. Certainly in the Far West and Middle West more high-school graduates attend business schools than go to agricultural colleges.²

A somewhat different picture appears when the vocational

² The attempt to discover whether the presence of an agricultural course in the high school held boys to the farm was unsuccessful because schools did not have the records. One community, Byron, Michigan, according to a recent item in *The Country Gentleman*, attempted to answer this question for itself.

"A survey was made of the high school there over a dozen-year period, the first six years of which it was conducted as a village high school, the last half dozen as a consolidated high school with an agricultural course.

"It was found that during the six years as a village high school only 14 per cent. of the boys who came from farms returned to farm life after completing their course. But in the last six years as a consolidated school the story was quite different. Though it covered a period of country-wide farm discouragement and depression, 36 per cent. of the boys have chosen farming as a career. And a noteworthy point is that a large proportion of them were A students, of the highest standing in scholarship."

choices of a total group of present high-school students are considered. More than 2,100 high-school students in 53 villages were asked to indicate what calling they expected to pursue. Of the boys nearly two-thirds of those who had made up their minds elected some type of engineering. Nearly one-fifth expected to farm, a very large majority of them village boys. Business and the learned professions claimed almost all the rest. No one chose the ministry.

Among the girls teaching was the leading choice, more than half declaring for this. Business was elected by about 30 per cent., nursing by 12 per cent. The only other callings claiming more than a scattering few were the professions, learned and technical, including physicians, home demonstration agents, etc., and missionaries or other religious workers. All of these professional callings together claimed 6 per cent. of the group.

EFFICIENCY OF VILLAGE SCHOOLS

The foregoing presentation of the basic facts about village schools leads up to an attempt to appraise them according to certain accepted standards.

NUMBER OF PUPILS TO CLASSROOMS

Educators have worked out a number of indices to test the efficiency of a school. One of these is the number of pupils to a room. Data on this point, presented in Table LIV, indicate

TABLE LIV—AVERAGE NUMBER OF PUPILS IN A ROOM BY SIZE OF VILLAGE

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>All Villages</i>	<i>Pupils in a Room</i>		
			<i>Small Villages</i>	<i>Medium Villages</i>	<i>Large Villages</i>
Middle Atlantic	28	26	23	27	27
South	30	32	25	34	37
Middle West	60	22	22	30	17
Far West	22	21	20	20	22

that little overcrowding in classrooms was observed, most exceptions reported being in the South, where the average number of pupils per room was thirty-seven in large villages and thirty-four in medium-size villages. In no other cases does the average

exceed thirty pupils per room, which is accepted as the maximum number of pupils to whom a teacher can do justice.

LENGTH OF TERM AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCE

Two other indices that enable educators to rate the effectiveness of a school are length of term and average attendance in proportion to enrollment. These two points also serve to indicate where a school stands in the estimate of its community.

The figures in Table LV give the minimum and maximum school years in the different regions, as well as the average year for each region based on the length of term of each school in that region. Table LVI presents the average annual attendance in the four regions, according to the size of the village in which a school is situated. These figures are based upon the yearly attendance records of each class of school in each region.

TABLE LV—NUMBER OF DAYS IN SCHOOL YEAR

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Schools</i>	<i>High School</i>		<i>Grade School</i>		<i>Country School</i>	
		<i>Aver- age</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Aver- age</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Aver- age</i>	<i>Range</i>
Middle Atlantic	263	185.4	180-190	185.4	180-190	168.8	160-180
South	247	177.8	175-180	177.8	175-180	141.8	120-175
Middle West	870	180.0	178-190	180.0	176-190	169.2	157-175
Far West	283	180.0	172-182	180.0	176-182	175.6	157-188

The village school year varied little all over the country, differing by barely a week as between the South, with the shortest average term, and the Middle Atlantic, with the longest. Variations were much greater between village and country schools in all regions, as can be seen from the figures for country schools in Table LV, showing that the farmer's child is at a disadvantage in the length of time he may attend school each year.

Efforts made to ascertain whether different types of farming in the various regions affected either length of term or average attendance were largely negative. In dairying communities the term exceeded the regional average by about one school week in the Middle West and Middle Atlantic states, and in all regions, except the South, general farming communities had school terms slightly shorter than average. Also an abundance of cotton in the South seemed to accompany a shorter school term, especially for open-country schools.

In discussing the influence of the size of a village upon the

composition of its population, Dr. Fry, in *American Villagers*, shows that, except in the Middle West, there is a tendency for the proportion of young people attending school to vary inversely with the size of the village. The lowest rates were found in the largest villages, i.e., places with 1,750 inhabitants or more, while the highest rates occurred in the small villages with less than 1,000 population. This conclusion is checked by the data gathered by the Institute's field workers.

TABLE LVI—RATIO OF AVERAGE ANNUAL ATTENDANCE TO TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS

Region	High School			Grade School			Country School		
	Small Villages	Medium Villages	Large Villages	Small Villages	Medium Villages	Large Villages	Small Villages	Medium Villages	Large Villages
	Per Cent.								
Middle Atlantic	92.5	89.7	83.6	90.2	65.9	85.9	88.2	73.5	77.7
South	81.5	86.7	93.3	78.1	88.1	88.2	71.6	66.8	67.1
Middle West	90.1	86.7	90.1	86.7	86.9	84.7	74.6	75.0	76.5
Far West	90.7	89.7	88.8	92.3	93.1	89.4	81.6	80.0	87.5

Comparison of school attendance figures in Table LVI brings to light the fact that the best records in all classes of schools in three out of the four regions, i.e., Middle Atlantic, Middle West, and Far West, were made in schools of small villages and that, except in the South, attendance records were worst in large villages. Investigations made regarding this decrease indicate that large villages offer greater industrial opportunities to young people, and this hypothesis appears to be supported by data relating to school attendance obtained during the 1920 census. Average high-school attendance varied only slightly for the same type of school in the different regions, but the average attendance at grade school was markedly higher in the Far West, and it is a fact that, in that region, the Mountain or Range states made the best records in both grade and high schools, with an average of 93.6 for the former and 97 for the latter. Particularly in the case of high schools is this record noteworthy, because in this region some of them draw pupils from an area of 200 to 300 square miles.

Length of school term and average annual attendance, it was thought, might be influenced by the number of foreign-born in a community, but investigation disproved this, although illiteracy

rates are higher where the foreign-born population is more than 10 per cent. of the total.

COST OF TEACHING

School administrators are apt to consider per pupil cost as an important index of a community's regard for education. It is not a perfect index, because keeping a poor plant in operation for a small number of pupils may result in a high per pupil cost.

It is significant, however, that \$6,000,000 is spent annually to maintain the village and open-country schools of the 140 places included in this study. Of this sum, salaries paid to the teachers in village schools amount to \$2,750,000, and to open-country teachers \$1,000,000.

TABLE LVII—ANNUAL TEACHING COST FOR EACH PUPIL IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SCHOOLS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Village</i>		<i>Country</i>
	<i>High School</i>	<i>Grade School</i>	<i>Grade</i>
	\$	\$	\$
Middle Atlantic	78.15	26.95	33.69
South	64.53	18.22	17.91
Middle West	93.69	31.15	34.75
Far West	112.98	40.82	42.26

In this study the expense of teaching per pupil, an item which represents well over half the total cost, was taken as an index of school efficiency. This index is also open to criticism, but it does make possible a significant comparison of teaching costs among regions.

As in the case of school attendance, it was not found that the basic crop of any community among the regions affected the cost of teaching per pupil and consequently the local school budgets. This uniformity of cost may be largely due to efforts of state boards of education to standardize teachers' salaries.

Variations in teaching costs are more pronounced in relation to the size of a village. Thus, in three regions, i.e., the South, Middle West and Far West, teaching costs are highest in villages of medium size, of 1,000 to 1,750 population. In larger villages the cost is spread over more pupils and in smaller ones no attempt is made to expand either curriculum or faculty, whereas the village of medium size must enlarge its work but has fewer pupils enrolled to help reduce the average cost of teaching.

Cost of teaching per pupil in high schools, grade and country schools in the four regions, compared in Table LVII on page 154, is highest in the Far West and lowest in the South.

Because of the variations in systems of accounting no effort has been made to compare total school budgets. This comparison would also be difficult because the areas and therefore the populations served by school districts vary as was shown in Chapter II. In his latest study, *Service Institutions of Town and Country*, Kolb, using data of this sort for the single state of Wisconsin, attempts to discover the minimum population which can efficiently support a high school and also the area and population which can be served with maximum efficiency. This area Professor Kolb finds to be 104 square miles, which it happens is only slightly in excess of the average community area for the middle western villages surveyed in this study.

COMPARISONS WITH NATIONAL AVERAGES

In order to understand better the school situation in villages, it is valuable to compare school conditions in villages with comparable averages for the United States as a whole.

Such a comparison is possible because the Institute made a detailed analysis of the 1920 Census data about the 177 villages³ from which were chosen the 140 places studied by the Institute's field workers, while the Bureau of the Census has recently issued a monograph⁴ giving comparable Census facts about school attendance for the total United States as of 1920.

Before making this and other comparisons, however, a word of warning is necessary. The Census data consist of the reports made to its enumerators regarding the number of pupils that attended school during the fall of 1919. The type of school or the length of time that the pupil attended school was not ascertained. Consequently the Census averages are not strictly comparable with those secured by the Institute's field workers and presented earlier in the chapter. It is significant, however, that in many important respects the two sets of data show much the same trend.

³ See Fry, *A Census Analysis of American Villages*, Institute of Social and Religious Research (New York, 1925).

⁴ See Ross, Frank A., *School Attendance in 1920*, Government Printing Office (Washington, 1925).

In the 177 villages it was found that there were 50,044 persons between the ages of five and twenty, 48 per cent. males and

TABLE LVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN 5 TO 20 YEARS OF AGE IN THE 177 VILLAGES

	Total	Native White			Foreign White	Negro
		<i>Native Parentage</i>	<i>Mixed Parentage</i>	<i>Foreign Parentage</i>		
Total population						
Number	50,544	38,435	4,376	3,780	855	3,098
Per cent.	100.0	76.0	8.7	7.5	1.7	6.1
Male						
Number	24,579	18,813	2,098	1,764	437	1,467
Per cent.	100.0	76.5	8.5	7.2	1.8	6.0
Female						
Number	25,965	19,622	2,278	2,016	418	1,631
Per cent.	100.0	75.5	8.8	7.7	1.6	6.3

52 per cent. females, nine-tenths of whom were native whites. Their distribution among the various classifications used is given above in Table LVIII.

TABLE LIX—PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN 5 TO 20 YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN THE 177 VILLAGES*

	Total	Native White		Foreign White	Negro
		<i>Native Parentage</i>	<i>Foreign or Mixed Parentage</i>		
United States					
Total	64.3	66.9	65.8	44.2	53.5
Male	64.1	66.6	66.0	45.8	52.4
Female	64.5	67.3	65.7	42.7	54.5
177 villages					
Total	71.8	73.5	70.3 †	51.0	59.2
Male	71.6	73.2	70.6	52.9	58.9
Female	71.9	73.8	70.0	49.0	59.4

* For figures on which these percentages, and those in the other percentage tables, are based, see Ross, *School Attendance in the United States: 1920*, and Fry, *Census Analysis of American Villages*.

† In the villages there is a sharp difference in school attendance between the native white of mixed parentage and those of foreign. The figure for the former group is 73.4 per cent., while for the latter it is 66.8 per cent.

School attendance figures for the 177 villages compared with those for the nation show attendance to be highest among native whites of native parents in both instances, but the average is

higher for the village than it is for the nation. In the case of the native white children of foreign or mixed parentage, this difference is even more marked, the attendance figure for both sexes being 65.8 per cent. for the United States and 70.3 per cent. for villages.

The figures for the foreign-born whites in villages are much higher than averages for the United States. In both villages and the United States as a whole, figures for Negro attendance are higher than those for foreign-born whites. This is partly

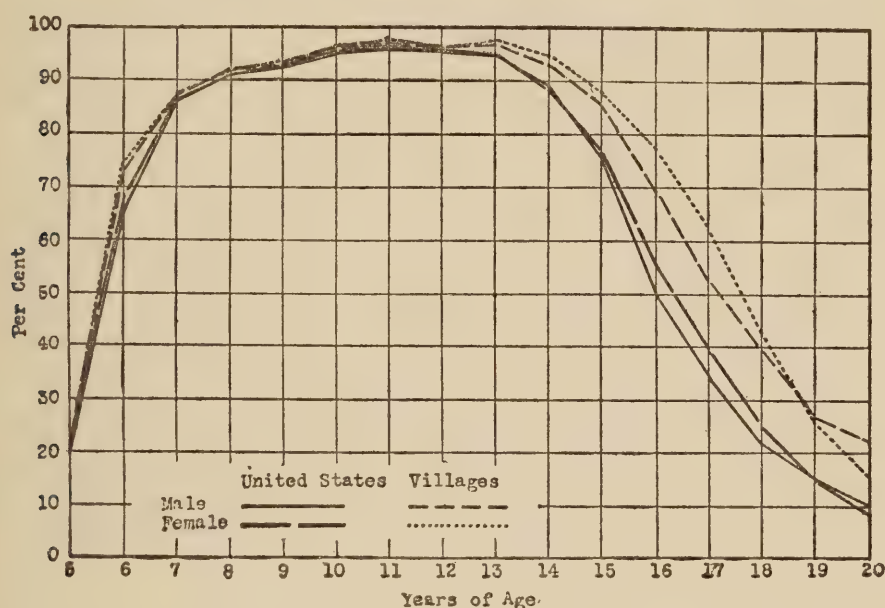


CHART VI

Percentage of All Classes of Children 5 to 20 Years of Age Attending School in the United States and in the 177 Villages, by Age-Groups

accounted for by the fact that a relatively large proportion of foreign-born are too old to fall under the compulsory education laws. Only 42.5 per cent. of the colored population in villages are thirteen years of age or more, while 60.4 per cent. of the foreign-born fall into this group.

Dr. Ross found that "the larger the proportion of foreign blood the less the tendency to continue schooling," especially in the years when attendance is voluntary.⁵ In villages the native whites of mixed parentage present an exception to this tendency, inas-

⁵ See Ross, Frank A., *School Attendance in 1920*, p. 10.

much as the records made by them for certain age-groups between fifteen and twenty exceed those of the native white of native parentage. For native white of foreign parentage and foreign-born white, however, the village trend is similar to that of the nation.

Although a somewhat higher proportion of the young people in villages attend school than is the case for the nation as a whole, nevertheless curves showing the rise and fall in the pro-

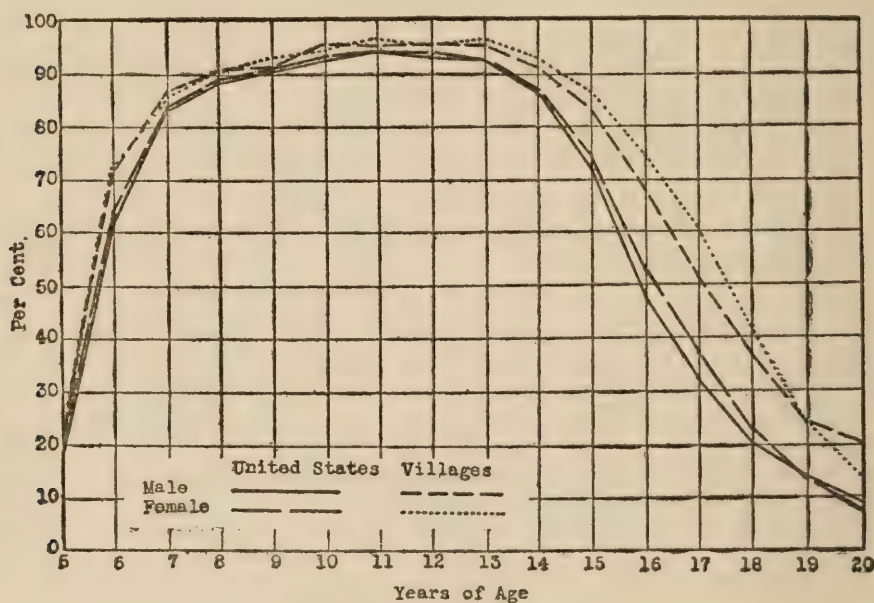


CHART VII

Percentage of Native White Children 5 to 20 Years of Age Attending School in the United States and in the 177 Villages by Age-Groups

portions of the boys and girls of different ages that attend school reveal much the same trends for both villages and the total United States, as may be seen in Charts VI and VII.

The most interesting difference between the national figures and those for the 177 villages pertains to the year when school attendance begins to slacken. For the nation as a whole, attendance increases each year up to the eleventh, thereafter declining slightly with the twelfth year and increasingly until the fourteenth year, when there is a very sharp drop. For the villages there is a slight dip in the curve between the eleventh and twelfth

years, but the line rises again with the thirteenth year, only dropping sharply after the fifteenth year, which is a year later than is the case with the national averages. This difference cannot be accounted for on the ground that village children start school a year later than city children, for the village percentages are higher than the national for all age-groups. Probably villages have better provisions for education than the United States as

TABLE LX—PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN 15 TO 20 YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN THE 177 VILLAGES, BY AGE-GROUPS

Age-group	Native White						Foreign White		Negro	
	Native Parentage		Foreign Parentage		Mixed Parentage					
	United States	177 Villages	United States	177 Villages	United States	177 Villages	United States	177 Villages	United States	177 Villages
<i>Male</i>										
Total	37.4	51.2	26.8	44.2	33.0	51.8	19.8	24.7	26.5	30.9
15	76.8	84.9	65.5	86.2	73.1	86.4	59.0	50.0	58.7	67.0
16	53.9	70.5	36.6	64.4	46.4	67.8	31.0	35.5	41.7	51.8
17	37.1	53.8	22.5	45.5	30.1	49.3	18.2	32.0	26.1	35.7
18	24.0	38.8	14.6	34.9	20.0	46.8	11.6	25.9	14.8	17.8
19	16.2	25.8	10.7	22.6	14.4	31.5	8.6	11.8	8.9	1.5
20	10.9	23.1	15.0	5.1	10.2	20.0	5.8	9.3	4.4	3.9
<i>Female</i>										
Total	39.6	53.8	26.2	45.3	35.4	54.7	16.8	31.9	31.1	35.2
15	78.8	87.7	64.3	84.2	74.9	90.6	55.7	66.7	67.6	80.0
16	59.6	76.5	38.5	70.8	52.6	81.0	29.5	37.5	51.9	58.8
17	43.1	63.6	24.1	55.2	36.3	61.9	15.9	37.5	34.6	38.3
18	27.1	44.0	14.3	33.8	22.8	43.8	8.7	23.5	19.6	22.9
19	16.3	25.3	8.8	22.0	14.0	28.4	5.4	11.8	10.7	10.6
20	9.2	15.2	5.1	14.6	8.4	15.5	3.2	7.7	4.8	4.8

a whole, and in villages there is less incentive to leave school and go to work.

The village ratios also indicate that while a greater proportion of females than males attend high school, a greater proportion of boys than girls continue their training beyond high-school years. Table LX shows the attendance ratios, national and village, by nativity and sex-groups for the years when school attendance is voluntary, and indicates that while the village figures show much the same tendencies as those for the nation, the village trends are less pronounced.

This comparison, therefore, between village and national school attendance figures, indicates that in certain important respects the village makes a decidedly better showing than the country as a whole.

COMPARISONS WITH URBAN AND RURAL

From many standpoints it is even more important to compare the school figures for villages with rural and urban sub-totals than with averages for the entire nation. Of course, the value of these comparisons is somewhat limited by the fact that village data are included as a part of the rural averages.

This fact, however, makes the figures in Table LXI all the more significant, since they indicate that the villages make a considerably better record than averages for the total rural area of which they are a part. This would appear to confirm conclusions reached by the field study that village children have greater educational advantages than open-country children. Unfortunately, it was not possible to ascertain whether the poorer attendance showing of rural children is proportional to their disadvantages.

Turning to the village and urban comparisons, the data show that in the age-group seven to thirteen years, the city record for both sexes is higher than that of the 177 villages. This may be owing to the fact that cities enforce their compulsory education laws more strictly. Ross thinks this factor also explains the low rural attendance rate between these years.⁶

After his thirteenth year, however, the city boy, with greater economic opportunity than his village cousin, rapidly enters gainful occupation, and it is at this period that village rates markedly exceed those of both city and country. This situation is shown graphically in Charts VI and VII. The source tables upon which the village figures are based may be found in *A Census Analysis of American Villages*.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to obtain from the Census rural school attendance records for boys and girls of all ages by color, nativity and parentage. Ross's census monograph, however, contains a tabulation giving these percentages for all classes between the ages seven to thirteen years, thus making possible a comparison of these figures for urban and rural populations with similar figures for villages. Such a comparison proves

⁶ See Ross, Frank A., *School Attendance in 1920*, pp. 31 and 32.

that for these years the village stands approximately midway between the urban and rural communities. A comparison by different nativity classes in the three divisions reveals interesting fluctuations.

TABLE LXI—PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN 7 TO 13 YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL IN URBAN AND RURAL UNITED STATES AND IN THE 177 VILLAGES, BY NATIVITY AND COLOR

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Native White Native Parentage</i>	<i>Foreign White Foreign or Mixed Parentage</i>	<i>Foreign White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
United States					
Urban	94.4	94.9	94.9	88.1	90.7
Rural	87.6	90.6	92.2	73.4	72.2
177 villages	93.0	94.0	91.2	77.4	83.5

In Table LXII a similar comparison for the same age-groups is made by regions, and reveals interesting variations from the national trend. In the village schools of the Middle Atlantic

TABLE LXII—PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN 7 TO 13 YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL IN URBAN AND RURAL UNITED STATES AND IN THE 177 VILLAGES, BY REGIONS

	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Far West</i>
United States				
Urban	94.4	91.9	95.2	94.6
Rural	94.0	81.9	94.1	91.9
177 villages	93.6	87.4 *	97.1	90.9

* Southern village rate for all whites 89.3, colored 83.7.

states attendance is lower than either the urban or the rural averages, owing perhaps to the large number of suburban communities in this region which, either because they are unincorporated or have less than 2,500 population, are classed as rural. In the Far West also the village rate is comparatively low. On the other hand, in the Middle West the village rate exceeds sharply both urban and rural.⁷

⁷ The regions used in the village study do not coincide with those used in the Census. The Middle West includes the East North Central and the West North Central Census divisions. The South includes the South Atlantic, East and West South Central Census divisions. The far western region combines the Census divisions known as Mountain and Pacific.

SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE SCHOOL

The discussion now turns to the third main topic of the present chapter—what is the social contribution of the village public school?

This is a question that has been long discussed. As early as twenty years ago criticism of the rural schools began to make itself felt on the ground that they did not prepare their pupils for the actual problems of life. Under pressure of this criticism, and with the example of an urban tendency to socialize programs, the rural school, during the last few years, has developed study courses of a vocational and industrial nature based upon the needs of rural life.

SOCIAL EMPHASIS OF THE CURRICULUM

In order to ascertain how far the curriculum of the village school has been revised to meet this new emphasis in education, ten items of a vocational and social nature were selected, after

TABLE LXIII—NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH VOCATIONAL AND SOCIAL COURSES IN SCHOOLS

<i>Subjects Studied</i>	<i>All Regions</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Far West</i>
Civics	131	27	26	58	20
Music	117	21	22	53	21
Nature study	105	24	20	44	17
Domestic science	90	9	16	48	17
Agriculture	86	16	18	42	10
Manual training	68	9	7	42	10
Development of community- mindedness	93	19	15	40	19
Development of leadership	81	14	10	43	14
Thrift	48	14	8	19	7
Adult education	9	..	3	3	3

consultation with rural experts, to serve as a standard. These items are: (1) nature study, (2) domestic science, (3) agriculture, (4) manual training, (5) music, (6) civics, (7) thrift, (8) adult education, (9) development of leadership, (10) development of community-mindedness. The last two items are not, of course, definite studies in themselves but are topics which are promoted by schools in such courses as civics and in lectures and other subjects specially designed to develop these qualities.

Table LXIII shows the number of times that these items appear in the programs of the schools of the 140 villages.

Civics stands out as the most generally taught of the newer social subjects. Ninety-seven per cent. of the village schools in the Middle Atlantic and Middle West regions included courses on this subject. In the Far West this percentage was 91 and in the South, 87. Music ranks first in the Far West, second in the South and Middle West, third in the Middle Atlantic states where nature study has second place.

In addition to showing the variation in these courses by regions, the present study also ascertained other variations occurring with the size of the village. In general, it was found that in all regions villages with populations of less than 1,000 gave fewer vocational or social subjects in their school programs than did schools of the larger villages. Agriculture was the one exception to the rule. It occupied a special position in all the small villages. In the Middle West, for instance, fifteen of the eighteen villages with populations of less than 1,000 taught agriculture, as against five out of twelve of the larger villages. The fact that agriculture is the most popular vocational subject in the schools of the small village is not a mere matter of chance. The small village is in closer touch with the farmer and is more willing to give his interest a place in the school curriculum.

An examination of the programs of four schools—one in each region—chosen at random from the field workers' reports illustrates how they have used one or another of the vocational or social subjects in the organization of their curriculum.

A New York school in a prosperous village of about 1,250 inhabitants has placed thrift as the major item of the new social program. The pupils were even encouraged to start a banking association which invested \$1,000 in Liberty Bonds during the war.

A southern village of 250 inhabitants, fifteen miles from the nearest railroad over poor roads, like many a small-sized village has emphasized agriculture. It has a modern school, planned on vocational lines, which draws as many as 400 pupils from the surrounding territory. The courses in agriculture were directed by a Smith-Hughes law teacher. Much of the shop work of the carpentry course, as also civics, thrift in the form of farm

management, even nature study, including biology, hinged upon the idea of an agricultural future.

Quite another phase was presented by a Kansas village, which has a population of about 600. There the socialization of the school curriculum had resulted in the development of community spirit and of the school as a social center. Evolving from the course in civics, students of which attend hearings in the county courts, a health survey of the town was made, every alley scrutinized, and a detailed report compiled by the class and published in the local newspaper.

All the school organizations, of which there were a number, were flourishing. There were a P.T.A., a Debating Team, a Booster Club, a combined Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A., Girl Reserves, Orchestra and Chorus. The entire high-school body participated in the county music contest and won the cup for chorus singing, violin and alto solo. All these social organizations were in addition to the ordinary school athletics.

The all-round vocational program, modified to suit the multiple demands of a combined rural and industrial village, is exemplified by that of the Union High School of an agricultural village of the larger class in California, with a population of 2,200 and a tributary population of nearly 4,000, situated in a country mainly fruit-raising, and having many industries based upon the fruit crop.

In this school, with a faculty of eighteen, all vocational training is based on the project method. For instance, the manual training class builds one bungalow, shop or other structure each year, which is sold at its real estate value. The domestic science class plans the menus, cooks and serves luncheons and dinners for local city clubs. School publicity has been taken over by the English class, and the students of domestic arts dispose of their efforts, wherever possible, to local dealers. A course in auto mechanics is provided, and a commercial course for students who intend going into business.

THE TEACHING OF AGRICULTURE

In the Middle and Far West regions the teaching of agriculture and, to a lesser extent, of domestic science and manual training, was greatly affected by the depressed condition of agriculture

just prior to the period of the survey in 1923-25. Because of the acute slump in prices of all farm products, agriculture as a vocational course was dropped from the programs of no less than ten schools in the villages surveyed, and in some instances commercial courses were substituted.

The course on agriculture might possibly have been saved in some of the villages if the instructors had been better-qualified men. The Smith-Hughes law, making federal and state aid available for schools giving courses in vocational agriculture, greatly increased the demand for such teachers, and men drifted into the profession who were either poorly equipped or did not understand the local type of farming. Consequently, since good instructors in scientific agriculture command salaries above those paid the majority of rural school teachers, in order to rid themselves of incompetent men, school boards in a few of the villages reduced the salary for this post so that no one could be found to serve.

Teaching vocational agriculture, particularly where the home project method is used, has its risks. One school in California discontinued the subject because the instructor advised his class one year to invest in a number of full-blooded hogs which, fattened and prepared for market, were expected to yield a profit. The market, however, dropped and the boys lost money instead of making it. Sons of two school directors were among the losers, and the next year the fathers vetoed the course.

On the other hand, the farmers of an Illinois community learned of the value of alfalfa, a new crop in that district, and how to grow it upon their own farms, by watching and appraising a demonstration crop produced by village school students, under the direction of the agricultural instructor, on the school farm. An attempt was made to find out whether the presence of an agricultural course in the village high school increased the enrollment of farm boys. The answer was inconclusive. Too many schools had just added or just dropped such courses to permit of valid comparison.

ADULT EDUCATION

It is in such enterprises as this last that some schools have an approximation to adult education, although the demand for

formal courses for adults was found to be insignificant, only nine of the 140 villages surveyed attempting any kind whatsoever in their schools. The courses in each instance were vocational, combined in one Negro school in the South with some academic work.

Three out of nine schools offered commercial courses, embracing bookkeeping, stenography and typing, for working girls and men, which appear to have been well attended. It is interesting, perhaps significant, that the villages giving commercial courses were: one in Iowa, one in Nebraska, and one in Washington, i.e., in parts of the country where the farmer had suffered most from the post-war slump in agriculture.

Two southern villages had extension courses in agriculture for the benefit of the farmer constituency, and two colored schools gave vocational instruction to men and women.

Much work of an educational nature for adults is also carried on by means of women's clubs, home demonstration agents, Home Bureaus, P.T.A.'s, and, for men, by the Farm Bureau Agent, and the Grange.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Religious instruction for public school credit is an interesting innovation in education for the young in this country. A few villages, chiefly in Middle Atlantic states, have inaugurated non-sectarian Bible and religious instruction, either in the school itself or in a separate building with coöperation of the school authorities. Work done in these classes frequently counts as credits toward promotion.

Local opposition to the introduction of such courses was encountered in some parts of the country and attempts made by their proponents to obtain permissive legislation for their establishment were defeated. Thus, in an Idaho village Bible instruction in the public school was dropped because of local objections, but here the purpose was achieved by instituting a Daily Vacation Bible School, which was legal because wholly under church auspices, but work in which could not receive school credit.

Methods of instruction vary in different villages, but the following description of the plan for week-day religious instruction

employed at Afton, New York, furnishes an illustration of the working of such a school.

The four pastors of the four denominations in the village, i.e., the Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal, and Protestant Episcopal churches, their four Sunday-school superintendents and two persons chosen at large formed a council to promote and administer the project.

The children received a little less than one hour's instruction every Wednesday afternoon in the schoolrooms of three of the churches, which were furnished with chairs and tables of the proper size, stereopticon, blackboard, and other necessary supplies. Under the care of a Religious Day School teacher the children marched to the different churches by grades—the first grade to the Baptist church, the second to the Presbyterian, the third to the Methodist Episcopal, and so on in rotation.

Pastors, experienced day-school teachers, and, for supply, Sunday-school teachers of broad understanding, gave their services for the lessons, and all expense incurred in connection with the school was borne by the churches interested, each of the four denominations making its own assessment.

The pupils' grades were entered on their report cards and textbooks for use during the lesson were furnished to pupils from grades 4–8 inclusive, the entire text of a recognized series being used. Students in the ninth grade worked for Regents examination and credits, the text for this grade having been assigned by the State Board of Regents.

These classes for religious instruction enrolled 98 per cent. of all grade pupils and had an attendance record of 92.6 per cent. Previously, 40 per cent. of the children had not been reached by either Sunday school or church.

EXTRA-CURRICULA ACTIVITIES

The value for the development of character of extra-curricula activities, both cultural and athletic, was widely recognized in the village schools. Many of them, however, were hampered in regard to certain phases of organized athletics by the limited material at their disposal.

Among the numerous non-athletic activities in these schools are found musical organizations and literary, debating or other

clubs. Glee clubs are found more frequently than any other organization, except in the South, where the old-fashioned literary club is still the most popular, occurring in three schools out of four.

About sixty of the school systems have definitely adopted a

TABLE LXIV—NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH ATHLETICS IN VILLAGE HIGH SCHOOLS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Football</i>	<i>Boys</i>			<i>Girls</i>	
		<i>Baseball</i>	<i>Basket-ball</i>	<i>Other Athletics</i>	<i>Basket-ball</i>	<i>Other Athletics</i>
All regions	81	96	118	88	82	21
Middle Atlantic	9	19	18	13	9	4
South	16	24	24	16	18	2
Middle West	37	32	55	39	39	10
Far West	19	21	21	20	16	5

far-reaching program of community service with the aim of making the school the social center of the community. These schools put on a wide variety of programs during the school year, both with their own student organizations and with imported

TABLE LXV—NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN VILLAGE HIGH SCHOOLS

<i>Organization</i>	<i>All Regions</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Far West</i>
Glee club	84	12	15	39	18
Orchestra	70	16	8	30	16
Band	20	5	3	7	5
Literary club	68	14	22	19	13
Debating club	34	4	9	12	9
Other clubs	84	15	11	37	21

talent. One school has a slogan, "Friday night, family night," and aims each week to have something that the whole family can enjoy. The community is urged to "get the Friday night habit" and it seems to be acquiring it. Several other schools had more than twenty public entertainments of one kind or another each school year. In a few of these communities there was criticism that there was too much going on, but in the main the problem of young people was less acute where the social program was strong than elsewhere.

In ten high schools the superintendent was definitely opposed to any enterprises of this kind. "The school is a school and only

a school," said one. The remaining school systems, or about half the total number, fall between the two extremes represented by these ten schools, on the one hand, and by the sixty which have definitely adopted programs of community service, on the other hand. Plays, debates and musicals were the most popular form of entertainment. Literary programs appealed only in the southern and Middle Atlantic states. Exhibits of pupils' work, parents' day, and achievement or accomplishment days were well regarded. Operettas and lyceum courses were also tried. The response of the parents was usually encouraging. It was considered poor in only six villages and fair in twenty. In the other 105 villages out of the 131 on which reliable information could be secured on this point, the verdict as to parental support and attendance was "good," "excellent," "very good," or "fine."⁸

PARENT-TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS

In addition to the activities under school auspices some schools have attempted to increase an appreciation of their work and needs and to establish a closer tie with their patrons by organizing Parent-Teachers Associations. These associations, sometimes called Home and School Leagues, are the connecting link between the school and the community. The membership is supposed to include the parents of the pupils and the school-teachers. The Association offers the opportunity for a discussion of problems of interest, for getting over to the community the reasons behind school policies, and hence for creating better understanding. Such associations also work for the schools and frequently supply some cultural values to the social life of the community by bringing in lecturers. Usually they meet once a month.

The average expenses of these organizations vary greatly. Complete data were not obtainable, but the average for thirteen of the eighteen southern associations was \$416.54. Nine far-western associations averaged \$96.31, two dollars higher than the figure for the fourteen middle-western organizations. In the Middle Atlantic states three of the associations spent practically nothing. The other three averaged \$38.30.

Among the 140 villages Parent-Teachers Associations are most highly developed in California, where there is an efficient

⁸ For a discussion of the question of health and the part of the school in safeguarding the health of its pupils and educating them in hygiene, see Chapter VIII.

state-wide federation of such associations, and in the South. In the latter region there are far fewer social organizations per village than elsewhere. The Parent-Teachers Association, therefore, has little competition for the leisure time of the people and fills a place in the general social life of the community in addition to its specific contributions to the school.

The social achievements of these organizations are varied. Many of them assist the school library. Especially, though not exclusively, in the South the interest extends to the purchase of equipment such as pianos, phonographs and maps, and occasionally includes the holding of entertainments to supplement school funds available for a new building or for the addition of an auditorium. Several associations took over much of the

TABLE LXVI—PARENT-TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS IN VILLAGES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Average Membership</i>		
		<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Middle Atlantic	6	69	23	46
South	18	65	7	58
Middle West	23	92	30	62
Far West	9	90	18	72

social life of the school and arranged for musicals, socials, plays and dances. Such efforts were reported as being helpful in solving the "problem of the young people." Another activity of some of these associations is to use their political influence to secure adequate appropriations or to bring about consolidation of schools.

Only two villages in five have Parent-Teachers Associations. Only in the South is the proportion better than half. In about half the remaining villages such organizations have been tried but they have died. In the main the reason for this was the lack of program. To some school principals discussion seemed to be the end and aim of such bodies and one association died because "though the people attended very well they would take no active part." Many principals and teachers, while sympathetic to the movement, appear to lack understanding of their constituencies and the skill in community organization necessary to make Parent-Teachers Associations valuable adjuncts to the school. Other schoolmen have expressed views definitely opposed to any community organization interested in the school. "They're

always a nuisance," said one principal. Another man stated: "The folks pay us to run the school. That's all they have to do. A Parent-Teachers Association gets into things that are none of its business."

SUMMARY

From the data presented in this chapter it appears that village schools are held in high esteem by their communities. Buildings are good, teachers' training and salaries conform to the generally accepted standards, the attendance of pupils is good, even if not quite as high as in the cities, and village youth remain longer in school than do city boys and girls. Education as a social service is not narrowly interpreted. Instead, many of these schools are enriching their programs with vocational and social subjects and in the development of varied extra-curricula activities they are making an effective contribution to the social life of their student bodies and communities. It should be added that many buildings were used for community meetings, lectures, boy and girl scout meetings, winter chautauquas, clinics, daily vacation Bible schools, banquets, band rehearsals and meetings of various organizations, while school gymnasiums were usually at the disposal of the community when not needed by the school. In short, the public school is a most important factor in the social life of villages.

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE CHURCH

JUDGED by the money contributed, the time invested by the inhabitants, and the value of the buildings used, the school and the church are the two most important social institutions in agricultural villages. The last chapter discussed the first of these institutions. The present chapter considers the second and will present and discuss data from the 140 village communities on five main problems in the religious life of American villages today.

These five problems are: the problem arising from the condition known as "overchurching"; the problem of church support in competitive situations; the villageward trend of rural churches; the failure of churches to reach all groups in their respective communities; and, finally, the problem presented by emotionalist religion particularly prevalent in western villages.

The data may be divided for consideration into three groups: (1) data that merely confirm the results of earlier studies and which, therefore, do not require detailed presentation here; (2) data showing that slight changes have taken place in village church life during the period elapsing between the Institute's study of rural counties, which was national in scope, and the present village study; and (3) new data that throw important light upon the five problems under consideration.

Briefly, data of the first group confirm the following previous findings:

That there are more churches in villages than in any other type of community.

That in village communities, church equipment, though far more adequate in village than in open country, is poor except for the maintenance of a preaching program. Nearly half of the churches in the present study are one-room buildings and few of those having more than one room are equipped for real community service.

That village churches have been slow to adapt themselves to

changing conditions. That their programs are stereotyped and highly standardized and that, therefore, the fewer the members, the higher the cost per person for carrying on the work.

That the stronger the competition among churches, the stronger the leaders sent to serve them. More will be said on this subject later in this chapter.

That churches receiving home-mission aid in villages where the competition was stiffest, were often most energetically promoted; and that non-competitive fields were generally comparatively neglected.

That Sunday schools were for the most part poor in educational equipment, in trained teachers, in social program and in up-to-date class method. Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that only two-fifths of the churches of the village study had separate Sunday-school rooms; and that, nevertheless, Sunday school was the most important feature of the church activity next to preaching, such schools being held by 80 per cent. of the churches of the country and by 90 per cent. of those of the villages.¹

The data in the second group show certain changes that have taken place during the period intervening between the two studies; and since those data are closely related to the major problems to be discussed, they are merely listed here in brief.

In the study already referred to, which covered intensively twenty-five representative rural counties and used data from 177, it was felt that denominational competition was less keen in the Far West than elsewhere. Traditional loyalties did not seem to be a part of the life of that region, while coöperation in administration was further developed there than elsewhere. During the last five years the situation has considerably changed. Certain emotional sects have developed into active opposition to the older organizations throughout the country, especially in the Far West, and rivalries have been greatly increased in that area.

Differences in the financial condition of churches were also found. The village study showed higher proportions of expenditure for pastors' salaries and for benevolences and a lower proportion for upkeep. This may be partly explained by the fact that,

¹ For full explanation of these data see the Institute's publications, *The Town and Country Church in the United States* and *Diagnosing the Rural Church*. Tables comparing the results of former studies with those of this study and giving the detailed data on which this chapter is based will be found in Appendix C.

since the war, building programs have necessarily been curtailed.

In the county study church valuations averaged in villages \$6,437, in country areas, \$2,750. The village study showed a definite increase in property valuation, village churches averaging \$11,937 and country churches \$2,932 in value. This increase is largely owing to the general rise in prices during the five-year period, and the fact that in the previous study villages were smaller in average populations.

The county study showed a higher percentage of mission-aided churches, though the village study reported a higher average grant. In the former study one church in five received aid and the average grant amounted to \$216. The village study showed one church in nine receiving some home-mission aid and the average grant to white village churches to be \$350, to white country churches \$198, making an average for the entire study of \$288 per aided church.

Sunday-school data for the two studies showed little essential difference except on two points. In the former study only about 1 per cent. of the churches were found to include the Daily Vacation Bible School and week-day religious education among their activities. The village study showed that 15 per cent. of the churches were actively interested in both.²

In addition to the data confirming the results of previous studies, and data pointing out differences in the results of former and present studies, the survey of the 140 communities produced a fund of entirely new data, now to be presented, regarding religious conditions.

"OVERCHURCHING"

Of the five major problems, to which reference has already been made, perhaps the most important is that of "overchurching." With respect to this problem, the data will be presented, first, in relation to the distribution of churches in the 140 communities.

The study covered the records of 1,399 active church organizations, of which 1,163 are white Protestant, 153 are Negro Protestant and eighty-three are Roman Catholic. These churches serve a population of 457,831, of which number 185,212, or 40.3 per cent., live in villages. Of the total number of churches 780,

² For statistical data showing more clearly this comparative information, see tables in Appendix C.

or 55.8 per cent., were located in villages which have in them but two-fifths of the population.

In these communities there was found to be one church for every 327 persons. The disparity between village and country is again noted in that the villages have one church for every 237 and the country districts one for every 440 persons.

It is interesting, in this connection, to note that not one of the 140 communities approached a standard long ago arbitrarily fixed by the Town and Country Committee of the Home Missions Council. That group, on the basis of the administrative experience of its members, declared that one church per thousand inhabitants was the ratio to be striven for as promising to yield the best results.

The number of churches per village is also significant because it gives a rough index of more or less active differences among village people. The average number of churches per village was 5.6. Variations from this figure occurred according to region and to village population, and are shown in Appendix C. The villages having four churches each form the largest group, the villages with five churches, the next largest. Not a single village has one church only. Sixty villages have seven or more churches each, and two have as many as fifteen each.

In all three size-groups of villages the Middle West equaled or approached the average number of churches per village. In the small-size group the Middle Atlantic communities had the largest number of churches, largely because many of these villages dated back to Colonial times and reached their peak of population in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Churches founded then have tenaciously held on to life.

Small memberships in churches are an important factor in this problem. Almost three-fifths of the churches have memberships of less than 100. In the small villages two-thirds of the churches have fewer than 100 members each. In western villages the largest number of churches have fewer than twenty-five members each. Membership data are given in detail in Appendix C.

Another factor entering into what is termed "overchurching" has to do with the denominations at work in the communities. The list given in the appendix shows that seventy-seven different sects are at work in the villages, and sixty-three in country areas. The list speaks for itself and needs no explanation.

An attempt was made to discover whether, as the number of churches in a community of a given size increased, church efficiency declined. The results were not fully conclusive. It was found that as the number of churches increased there was a slight, but by no means proportionate, increase in the ratio of population enlisted in the churches.

There was also an increase in the total amount of money raised; but this increase was also by no means proportionate to the increased number of churches. In other words, as the number of churches increased in villages of a given size, they enlisted more people under the spur of competition; but the average membership and the budget of each church declined. Another reason for this increase in total membership and in gifts lay in the fact that as competition became more strenuous the leadership of the churches improved. Thus, in villages of the medium-size group, those having three churches, one-third of the ministers had enjoyed the advantage of training in college or in college and seminary. In villages with four churches this ratio increased to three out of five. In the five-church villages the proportion was two out of three, whereas in the six-, and seven-church villages, nine out of every ten ministers had received this type of training. In other words, where the competition was more severe, there denominations put their best equipped men; but where each church had the greatest opportunity, there ministers were sent who were less well equipped. This is exactly the reverse of the situation found in the open country in other studies. In the country a high density of churches was found to make not only for small memberships, but also for untrained ministers.

The Institute's study of the forty most successful town and country churches in the United States³ clearly shows that, from every point of view, a well-trained man in a non-competitive situation can produce better records than an equally well-trained man in a competitive situation. The present study shows, however, that in a given situation well-trained men laboring under competitive conditions, resulting from the presence of more churches, can produce better results, measured by gross totals, than can men not so well trained, who are laboring where churches are fewer and competition is less. Because of the small number

³ See *Tested Methods in Town and Country Churches* and *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country*.

of villages in each size group, it was not possible to compare communities of the same size having different numbers of churches.

When the analysis proceeded to the per capita basis, a slightly different story developed. Total per capita contributions remained almost constant, regardless of the number of churches, although benevolent contributions fell off sharply. Thus, in the medium-size group of villages, the contribution for benevolences, which was \$7.52 per member in two church villages, declined steadily until it became \$4.42 in those villages that had seven churches each. Similarly, there was a tendency for the average per capita expenses for ministers' salaries to decline as the number of churches increased. Thus, in the medium-size villages with two churches each, the average per capita contribution to minister's salary was nearly \$10.00. In the villages with five churches each, the average per capita fell to \$6.56. In villages with still more churches than five, there was a slight increase in the per capita contribution, but not enough to negative the tendency.

As the number of churches in a community of a given size increases, the proportion of the total of church contributions that must be obtained to cover organization maintenance increases.

A probable reason for the failure to discover conclusive tests of the effect of competition on church efficiency is to be found perhaps in the fact that, as the number of churches increased, the number of small and irregularly organized emotional sects also increased. Churches of this type are peculiarly careless with all records, and in the medium-size and especially in the large-size villages, this group was considerable.

Another reason for the inconclusive result lay in the fact that when all small villages are combined, or all medium, or all large villages, such a variety of environmental factors enter into the situation that a precise and thoroughly accurate appraisal of the effect of competition on financial contributions is not possible. Obviously, a village in the heart of the Corn Belt or in the irrigated fruit section of California can afford to support more churches than can a declining Middle Atlantic village of similar size, or a southern community that has suffered from the boll weevil. The sample of villages studied was not sufficiently large to permit of analysis according to different environments and different size-groupings within each region. It was hoped that the Middle West, with sixty villages, might furnish a sufficiently

large sample to admit of more detailed analysis. Unfortunately this was not the case. The number of villages in the various groups of churches per village varied from three to sixteen but exceeded ten in only two groups; there were ten villages or more in only those groups having four and five churches to the village. To attempt to divide such groups among villages of comparable wealth or size meant to reduce the sample to the disappearing point.

However, when all middle western villages were taken together the same tendencies appeared which have been noted above. Total per capita contributions varied but slightly. Contributions to benevolent causes decreased as the number of churches increased. They ranged from \$5.02 to \$5.26 per member in the two-, three-, and four-church villages, but dropped to \$4.02 per member in the five-church villages and to \$3.85 in the six- and seven-church villages.

This failure to secure fully conclusive data as to the effect of church density on church efficiency is not as surprising as it may appear to the uninitiated. As pointed out in other Institute studies,⁴ the rural church throughout America has developed a highly stereotyped and standardized program. The fewer the people who support a church, the higher the cost to each person.

The emphasis in the preceding section has been upon objective and precise tests. No attempt has been made to measure the spiritual effects of "overchurching." There was much testimony by local leaders as to such effects. For instance, where competition among churches was severe there was much complaint that religious differences prevented unified action in various community projects; that they made impossible such dissimilar things as community organization and week-day religious education. This was especially noticeable in a Pennsylvania community in which the eighteen churches had enlisted barely half of the population of 1,500. It was markedly absent in Parma, Idaho, where one of the most successful rural churches in America ministered to an entire community with its church and community house. To trace and evaluate the spiritual effects of "overchurching" through the different degrees of "overchurching" in the intervening villages is not a task for which this study was equipped.

⁴ See especially *Diagnosing the Rural Church*, Chapter III.

HOME-MISSION AID

The second problem, that of home-mission aid, which is now to be considered, must be taken in connection with "over-churching."

The number of churches aided, one in seven of the white Protestant societies, is lower than the ratio discovered in the county study, but the average grant is much higher. The explanation of these facts is to be found in two things. The earlier study covered places up to 5,000 population and in these towns there was more competition than elsewhere. In other words, with the towns eliminated the ratio of aided churches would be less than one in five. It is reported that some denominations have cut down the number of aided churches in the last five years on account of the financial depression. The difference in the size of the grant is largely due to the fact that the earlier study covered all rural territory, and open-country churches do not receive as generous treatment from home-mission agencies as do those located in the centers of rural population. The average grant to the country churches in the village communities was only \$198. In the villages grants ran as high as \$1,200 a year and grants of from \$600 to \$900 were not exceptional. This is a considerable contribution from the denomination at large to enable the small group of its faith in a given village to continue to hold services.

Over one-half of the 140 villages have in them some church receiving home-mission aid, though less than one-half of the communities report country churches receiving such aid. Sixty-eight per cent. of the Far West villages and over one-half of the southern villages have in them home-mission aided churches.

The total amount of such aid received by ninety-two villages was \$32,171 in the year preceding the survey. This means that of the entire number of 710 Protestant village churches in the study, 14 per cent. were being aided with funds from church boards and that the average grant per church was \$350. Of the ninety-two white village churches receiving aid, twenty-six were in villages having four, and nineteen were in villages having five or more, Protestant village churches each. Many cases were found in which the result of home-mission aid was to perpetuate competition. In very few cases was such aid available to under-churched areas.

THE TREND TOWARD THE VILLAGE

The third problem to be considered in this chapter has to do with the villageward trend of churches. In the county study it was found that 22.6 per cent. of the village church-members lived in the country. The present study showed a considerable increase in country membership of village churches, 31.6 per cent. of the village church-members residing outside of corporation boundaries.

The concentration of churches in villages already noted is significant and raises two questions, first, as to the degree of success in reaching dwellers in village and country, and, second, as to the relative appeal of village and country churches to the population in these two parts of the communities.

In no region does the church reach as high a proportion of the country as of the village population. This country population is not remote from centers, but is found in the immediately contiguous territory and supports largely the economic and social agencies of villages.

This population rarely has its own stores, and in many cases it has given up its own former social organizations. In some communities the school, too, has gone, having been merged in a consolidated system. And just as the more prosperous farmer has become accustomed to drive past the one-time busy country store on his way to trade in the village, so has he become accustomed to drive by the cross-roads church to attend services in the larger center. Thus, the leadership that once bore the responsibility of carrying forward the country church has gradually been absorbed by village organizations and the country churches have been left in the hands of those whose influence is less in the community. This movement villageward has had a marked influence on rural religion. It has meant fewer in attendance at country church services and more irregular services, diminishing funds and, therefore, a still more poorly paid leadership. True, there are exceptions. In all but twenty-five communities there were found country churches. The South, as a region, has not succumbed to the tendency of country churches to decline to the same degree as other regions.

In the Middle West and to a less extent in the Middle Atlantic areas there are still country churches, affiliated with liturgical

and frequently with foreign-language denominations, which have withstood the appeal of village churches. There were communities in all regions in which, either because town and country relations were not good or because villages demanded a standard of living with which the farmer or his family could not keep pace, country churches remained strong. Women more than men seemed to feel such social distinctions. Distance was also a factor. The farther a country church was from the center, the better it was found to hold its membership. But despite these important exceptions the trend was found to be the other way.

An analysis of the residence of church-members of village and country churches shows that, except in the South, the country church is losing to the village church. In the Middle Atlantic and Middle West regions village churches have almost as many members living in the country as the country churches have members. In the Far West the total membership roll of the country churches is only one-third of the country members enrolled in village churches. Even in the South three out of every ten country people belonging to churches have united with village organizations. Nationally speaking, two-fifths of the country church-members have united, not with their own, but with village churches. They constitute nearly one-third of the enrollment of village churches, while only 3 per cent. of the country church-members live in the villages.

The significant thing about the movement of country people into village churches is that it has been so largely voluntary. Though the village church is in effect competing successfully with the country church, it is, in more than a majority of cases, simply receiving those who come to it. Those who come are, for the most part, the social and economic leaders of the countryside. Those who remain do not feel at home in village churches and yet find it difficult to maintain working organizations in the country. The passive attitude on the part of village churches, assumed in order to give the country church a chance, permits that country church to be weakened and deprives the rural part of the community of aggressive and thorough service. The question of why country people preferred village churches to country churches was answered in all regions in the same way. The village church has a better preacher, a better building and frequently better music than the church at the cross-roads. The automobile and improved

roads have made it possible for the more prosperous to come to the center and enjoy these advantages and secure the satisfaction that comes from worshipping with numbers of people.

This situation has arisen with the growth of villages. Originally the village church was the head of a circuit, the country appointments of which shared the minister with the village. When the village grew it demanded a full-time resident pastor. The country churches, left to themselves and deprived of the support of the village, could not afford to employ as well trained a pastor; and if they did, the shouldering of the additional financial burden was made possible by including several more country churches in the circuit.

In the present study only forty-two of the 515 white Protestant country churches were found to have full-time resident pastors. Fifty-three country churches were pastorless and over one-half were served by non-resident pastors. On the other hand, over two-fifths of the village churches had full-time resident pastors and nearly one-third were served by resident pastors serving one village and one or more outside points each.

Three-fifths of the pastors serving the churches in the study lived in villages; only 8 per cent. lived in the country, and 30 per cent. were non-resident.

This factor of pastoral residence in villages is reflected in the number of services held in village and country. While nearly three-fourths of the village churches held regular weekly services, only one-third of the country churches held services every Sunday.

As a result of these conditions, namely, the irregularity of service in the country, the employment of only a portion of the time of non-resident pastors and the fact that the leaders of the open country attend village churches, an easy victory has been gained by churches at the center.

Many signs were observed in this survey that village churches have in general failed to take into consideration the results of the increasing tendency of country people to attend village churches. Farm areas surrounding villages were often found almost entirely neglected by the village churches. Little active effort to welcome country people was in evidence. Village church-members and leaders seldom visited their country neighbors on church business. In no area was the proportion of the country population affiliated with churches, whether village or country,

equal to the proportion of villagers who were church-members. In every region it was apparent that village churches had not attempted any systematic evangelization in the open country.⁵

CHURCH-GOING VILLAGERS

Though, as has been shown, village churches, for one reason or another, fail in adequate service to the open country, the question still remains, "What about their service to the village itself?"—which is another way of stating the fourth problem to be considered, the reach of the village church among its own people within the corporation limits.

An examination of age-groups and sex-groups in churches of the village study compared with those reported in the same communities in the 1920 census shows some striking results, and throws considerable light upon the extent to which churches have been successful in reaching their people.

The proportion of males and females in the total population for the three age-groups, ten to twenty, twenty-one to forty-four, and forty-five years of age and over, was secured from the census. Church-memberships of every church in 117 villages were similarly divided. In the population 48.5 per cent. were males, 51.5 per cent. females. The church-membership contained 39.9 per cent. males and 60.1 per cent. females. Obviously the village church is not reaching men and boys as successfully as it is reaching women and girls. This holds true for every region and for nearly every age-group. The only exception is in the South, where, of the males forty-five years of age and over, the proportion in the church-membership slightly exceeds the proportion in the total population. In every region a disproportionate part of the village church-membership consists of older people, especially older women, a situation that raises some interesting questions. Do advancing years turn people to religion? The bulk of the testimony and the figures on accession to church-membership would seem to indicate that age is but a slight factor.

⁵ The actual proportions by region are:

	<i>Per Cent. Village Population in Church</i>	<i>Per Cent. Country Population in Church</i>
Middle Atlantic	41	25
South	45	28
Middle West	33	26
Far West	21	14

Habits of a lifetime do not change in later life. Did the church of a generation ago reach young people better than does the church of today? The inference that it did seems to be a fair one from these figures, even granting that some of those under twenty will undoubtedly unite with the church. The details of this comparison between the proportion of age- and sex-groups in the population and the proportion of the same groups in church-membership are to be found in Appendix C.⁶

In all three age-groups the percentage of females of villages affiliated with the churches exceeds that of males. While only 35.8 per cent. of the older males in the total male population are church-members, 56.4 per cent. of the females are reported on the church rolls. The higher percentage of females holds for every age-group in all four regions. In the churches of the western villages there are relatively twice as many women as there are men who are church-members. The South and Middle West lead in percentage of female population in the church-membership.

It is also possible, with these data, to show the proportion of each age-group and sex-group reached by the church in those same 117 villages. The results emphasize the previous conclusions. Only in the South and Middle Atlantic does the proportion of males in the church exceed two out of five. In the Far West it is less than one in five.⁷

In the villages of the South with populations of 1,000 or less, 87.9 per cent. of the females are reported as church-members. This is the highest percentage found in any age- and sex-group or in either the medium- or large-size communities. In this same area the proportion of males in the church-membership, 73.6 per cent., also exceeds all others. In all other regions the medium-

⁶ Age-groups and sex-groups in church-memberships were secured from every church in 117 villages. In twenty-three villages it was not possible to obtain complete data on membership divisions in all churches, and therefore those villages are not included in the above discussion. The tables reveal some very interesting differences in the age- and sex-distribution in the four areas. For a further discussion of these and other significant data of a similar nature see *American Villagers*.

⁷ It must be remembered that the census figures on which the comparisons in Appendix Table 27 are based were gathered from two to four years prior to this survey. In order to reduce the margin of error it was assumed that, whatever the change in population, the relation between the age-groups and sex-groups had remained constant, or in other words that the per cent. of increase, if any, applied to all groups equally. This per cent. was then applied to the 1920 figures. It is believed that the margin of error is quite small as population changes were relatively slight and villages which showed considerable change are among the twenty-three eliminated from this comparison.

size village makes a somewhat better record than either the large or the small village.

This analysis of the relative strength of the appeal of the village church to various age-groups and sex-groups raises some questions which cannot be answered by the data. The failure of the church to reach men is no new phenomenon, though it had usually been assumed that the failure was greater in the cities than elsewhere. This study shows that it is also present in agricultural villages to a marked degree. The data are not sufficient to permit of a precise explanation of why this is so.

A study of distribution by age and sex in the various church organizations also gives an index for the extent of appeal churches make in their programs to the various groups they serve.

There are in all the churches studied, village and open-country, 2,437 organizations other than Sunday schools, with a total enrollment of 81,124. Of this number, four-fifths belong to village church organizations. This shows how little the average country church is concerned with anything more than a preaching program. By far the largest number of organizations are for women and mixed groups; in fact, over half the total number of persons enrolled are members of women's organizations. The number of women in church groups outnumbers that of all others combined.

Men and boys are not conspicuous on the list of organizations, women and girls outnumbering them nine times. Country churches are little interested in organizations. Only eight men's and three boys' groups are reported by 619 country churches. About one-fifth of the country churches have mixed groups, such as the Christian Endeavor; and in the country even the women's groups are fewer and loosely organized.

The outstanding fact about church organizations, as about community organizations, is that only about 6 per cent. of the members of all church groups are boys and girls, though in the mixed groups such as Christian Endeavor, Epworth League, and Baptist Young People's Union, the enrollment is over nine times as large as the total enrolled in the separate groups for boys and girls.

Two-thirds of the churches have organizations for women, but it is the exceptional church that has organized its men and boys.

In a study of the social organizations of villages described in the following chapter, it was found that young people were peculiarly neglected; that adults had organized without taking their young people into serious consideration. The church study showed this same tendency, excepting in its attempt to hold young people through Sunday schools and purely religious organizations without regard to any seven-day-a-week program.

THE EMOTIONAL CHURCHES

The discussion now turns to the fifth problem—one that has a marked bearing upon all of the others presented—the problem presented by the emotional type of religion. In the last decade this type has become one of the chief concerns of church life, especially on the Pacific Coast, has had its influence upon denominational attitudes, upon church finance, upon the drawing power of village churches, upon the religious appeal of all age-groups and sex-groups. At the present time the question is being debated whether these loosely organized, foot-loose groups, that have arisen in revolt against the older, better established denominations, will ultimately break down the latter, or whether they will give new life and impetus to the older groups, establishing thereby new, well-organized, more progressive religious institutions with broad enough vision to minister successfully to all groups.

The emotionalists are generally organized on the fringe of the larger communities. Their meetings are held in tents, vacant stores, halls or homes. Of the twenty-five groups of these sects found in the twenty-two western communities, eleven had buildings, five of them, however, valued at less than \$1,000 each.

The ministers of these sects, in the churches that have any, are usually untrained and poorly paid, if paid at all. Eleven of the twenty-five village groups are served by laymen. Twelve have resident ministers, none of whom are paid salaries of more than \$1,400, the average salary amounting to less than \$500.

Memberships are small as a rule, though the attendance at evangelistic services outnumbers the church-memberships many times. Eight of the twenty-five groups have fewer than twenty members; eight have from twenty to forty, and five have more

than forty but fewer than one hundred members. Four have no membership records whatever.

Recruits are generally secured not from the unchurched classes but from the memberships of other churches. They include those who have grown dissatisfied with their former organizations, who have found their own churches too formal and not furnishing an opportunity for individual expression. Others have joined the emotionalist groups to be healed of various diseases by faith when medicines have failed to produce a cure. Thus, the gain of the new has in many cases meant loss to the older, better-established organizations.

For example, an evangelistic service was held in a certain church in a California village. It had ended in a split in that organization and those who had by the service "seen the light" had withdrawn and formed a new group. In a seriously over-churched Idaho village a great evangelistic service had practically crippled the religious life of the community, since from almost every church several leading members had withdrawn to attempt the organization of one more church. This, however, ended in failure and when the survey was made the former members were drifting back.

Many theories were advanced regarding the reasons for the rapid growth of this type of religion. Some said they believed it was only a natural part of the westward movement; that it was an attempt to fill the needs of those hungry for the revival of the old-time camp-meeting religion; that it was a stab at modernism and the other extreme swing of the pendulum toward fundamentalism; that it was part of the post-bellum state of mind. One religious leader remarked that this type of spiritual expression was another wedge which would, if its strength continued to grow, succeed in time in the ultimate breaking up of the old, established denominations.

Various instances were found in the village and country sections studied that bore out this statement to an alarming degree. In one of the more conservative California villages the strongest church had offered its building for the use of evangelistic services from which it fully expected to benefit. When the meeting proved to be so lacking in self-control that the church was forced to withdraw the use of its building, the enthusiasts of the new faith

moved to an abandoned schoolhouse where they continued their evening services late into the night, much to the chagrin of the quiet people of the community. News spread of wonderful healing. Young people, formerly uninterested in community affairs, flocked to the meeting. It was a new experience to them. They enjoyed the excitement, the like of which they had never seen before in this village, which had always been proud of a conservative religious background.

Though relatively few well-organized churches of the emotionalist type were found in the twenty-two western villages, the results of camp meetings were to be seen in nearly all. Even in the open country, splits had been caused in churches, and members who had formerly worshiped under one roof were holding services in two separate buildings. Those who had remained in the old organizations were placed in the most difficult position, their responsibility being doubled, while those of the new sects had thrown off all responsibility, since the emotional groups require scarcely any financial backing other than for the rent of a hall, for freewill offering, and for meager payment of pastors' salaries.

One of the outstanding factors in this type of religion was the attitude of young people toward it. Some of them had succumbed to the excitement and become interested in joining the organizations; others were quite frank in expressions of marked disgust for the whole of religion, not only for the tent-meeting variety, but for the religion of their parents.

The question most often asked concerning this type of spiritual expression was whether a religious institution, basing its appeal upon the emotions rather than upon the intellect, could endure; and at the time of the survey no convincing answer to the question had been found.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of the churches in the agricultural villages presented many and overlapping problems, those of denominational prestige, financial support, individual programs, church and Sunday-school attendance being the chief considerations of local churches. Interdenominational coöperation and community service were not found to be outstanding factors in the lives of village churches.

In certain areas the churches were quite satisfied with conditions as they were; in others the membership was in open revolt, as evidenced by the rapid growth of emotional groups seeking spiritual expression in opposition to the policies of their former churches.

Village churches, like most of the other institutions in villages, were organized on an adult basis. There were, to be sure, Sunday schools and young people's socio-religious societies; but the heart of the young people's problem had been reached by only the exceptional church.

Neither have village churches offered any dynamic appeal to the men in their communities. An analysis of the male membership of lodges and economic groups, presented in the next chapter on Social Organizations, shows striking evidence that church interest hangs low in the balance with that of other village institutions so far as adult males are concerned.

Finally, the average village church has not yet adapted itself to meet the trend of open-country population to the village.

CHAPTER VII

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

THIS chapter describes the social structure of villages, and presents data upon various types of organization through which villages express their interest in recreation, civic improvement, welfare, and community activities other than those connected with home and business. Comparisons are made between the different types of organization at work in the four areas and between social and religious groups. Data on membership, attendance, dates of organization and programs are presented, and an attempt is made to describe what villages do through their social agencies, how they express their ideas, where they satisfy their desires for recreation. Age- and sex-groups belonging to active organizations were intensively studied, and the attempt is made to describe these groups and the parts they play in American village life.

The second part of the chapter deals with other social and educational forces that influence communities, such as the local newspaper, the moving-picture theater and the public library. In brief, the aim of this chapter is to present a close-up of village organization from a social point of view, summarizing the formal and informal activities that make up the every-day program of villages and to catalogue the various organizations as they were found to exist in the communities studied.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATION

In order to point out clearly the place held by the various groups in the 140 communities, the organizations have been classified under the following nine heads: Lodge; Civic; Social; Economic; Patriotic; Educational; Athletic; Musical; Socio-religious.

LODGES

The lodge heads the list of organizations in number, membership and influence in every community studied, and is surpassed in importance as a social organization only by the school and the church. In early histories of these communities as much, if not more, space is given to the organization and growth of lodges as is given to the founding of the first institutions of religion and education.

Nearly one-third of all the organizations at work in the 140 villages were lodges, 958 of them in all. The average number per village was 6.8. In the South and Middle Atlantic regions there were fewer but stronger fraternal groups; in the Middle

TABLE LXVII—NUMBER OF LODGES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Lodges</i>		<i>Range</i>
			<i>Average</i>	<i>Kinds</i>	
All regions	140	958	6.84	76	2-17
Middle Atlantic	28	131	4.68	21	2- 8
South	30	123	4.10	18	2-10
Middle West	60	488	8.13	49	2-17
Far West	22	216	9.82	35	2-17

West the average was eight lodges and in the Far West more than nine per village. It was also found that the number of churches increased as one journeyed westward. The movement toward the West carried with it persons of many social affiliations as well as of many denominations. In the newer country each naturally rallied to his own group and set up the standard that bore the motto of his own order; hence the relatively greater over-organization of the Middle and Far West.

Of all the lodges in all the four areas, the Masonic, Eastern Star, Odd Fellows and Rebeccas were the most numerous. The Woodmen held next place in the South; the Royal Neighbors in the Middle West, while in the West and Middle Atlantic there was a scattered number of many fraternal bodies—the majority in both areas being of the four strong orders mentioned above. The distribution of the kinds of lodges in the four areas, as given in Table LXVII, shows some vivid contrasts.

With the exception of nine junior orders for boys, with a few more than 400 members, and one junior order for girls, with twenty members, all the lodges found were for adults.

A study of membership of fraternal organizations shows their standing among other groups in the communities. More than three-fifths of the members of all men's groups are included in the lodge enrollments. More than one-third of the total enrollment of women's groups and over forty per cent. of the enrollment of mixed groups are included in the lodges.

Fraternal bodies play a varied, democratic part in village life. In them are found men and women in all walks of life, meeting together, according to the observation of field workers and the testimony of villagers, with less class distinction than in most of the organizations. Their program includes stimulus for the mental, moral, economic and social forces, though their regular meetings are usually attended only by a "faithful few." Their banquets and socials are the acknowledged events of the season. The insurance part of the fraternal groups is an important factor which influences membership rather than attendance. Villages also look to lodges for the administration of relief and charity. According to some of the pastors and church leaders, struggling with problems of low attendance at services, the lodges had to a large extent supplanted the churches, especially in their appeal to men. In the newer parts of the country particularly the question was continually asked, "Are there greater spiritual influences in average village churches or in chambers of commerce and lodges?" It was certainly true in several communities that the latter offered the stronger appeal.

Nevertheless, figures on lodge attendance and average per capita expenditure for lodges, given later in this chapter, do not show any cause for rivalry between church and lodge. Of all social groups lodges are the most indifferently attended and their average per member expense amounted in the year previous to the survey to less than one-fourth the amount of the average per member contribution to churches.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Civic organizations hold second place and are to be counted among the most active forces at work in villages. Ten per cent. of the men and one-fourth of the women enrolled in organizations are members of these groups. During the war, associations of this type became less active, since many of the male

members had left and the patriotic service work largely took the place of former civic activities. During the last five years, however, new impetus has been given to such organizations as civic leagues, improvement and community clubs, many of which have been recently reorganized. All but four of the 140 villages have at least one of these societies and in them are generally found the people who are regarded as the most progressive leaders. A majority of the members are women. The total enrollment of mixed groups interested in civic welfare includes a number larger than the total membership either in men's or in women's groups. Organizations for women have rapidly come to hold an important place in villages, and in many cases it was found that where women had formerly been looked upon as incapable of carrying on a civic program and had expressed no desire to take part in one, they had recently joined with the men and together had been able to put across projects long talked of but never before possible.

Groups of this type include such organizations as the Red Cross, cemetery associations, fire departments, community clubs, welfare associations, civic leagues, Women's Christian Temperance Unions, mothers' clubs and Federated Women's Clubs. Of the activities supported by them the annual Chautauqua and Lyceum courses were found to be among the most appreciated, as offering the only opportunity that many village residents had for the enjoyment of outside talent. Of the 140 villages sixty-nine held annual Chautauquas and fifty-four furnished Lyceum courses.

Among other activities characteristically initiated or supported by these civic groups may be listed: village beautification, annual clean-ups, purchase of fire apparatus, projects for street-paving, improvements of public buildings, projects of public health, law-enforcement.

Civic and social programs are often combined by a civic organization, as in the case of the establishment, at San Jacinto, Calif., of an annual Community Day, when the Ramona Pageant is given. This was started primarily to interest the stranger in the "Heart of Ramonaland," but by developing local talent and enlisting the interest of the entire community it has served also to break down barriers between groups, to bring village and country together and to increase home trade and home production.

The average number of civic organizations to the village was 3.2, to which average the Middle Atlantic and Middle West conformed. The South had fewer and the West more per village than the average. Only three per cent. of the men in organizations of the South were members of civic groups; while one-third of the women in organizations and over one-fourth of the men and women in mixed groups of this area were included in civic organizations. The most numerous civic groups in the Middle Atlantic and the southern villages were the local firemen's organizations, and in the Middle and Far West, the Women's Christian Temperance Unions.

THE KU KLUX KLAN

The figures in the preceding paragraph do not include organizations of the Ku Klux Klan for which data are incomplete. The Klan classes itself as a civic organization, and in the Far West is the most numerous of any, ranking ahead of the Women's Christian Temperance Unions in frequency of occurrence. Its activities, however, are political rather than social, and it was found to play little part in most of the activities usually associated with other civic groups. In most communities studied Klan influence was on the wane; indeed, to quote an expression used in one village, it was regarded as a "backwash from cities, gradually decreasing in power." Definite effects, however, were to be observed where the organization had formerly been powerful. In several villages it had split church, school and Main Street into two factions, separating families and old friends. Cases of boycotting in business were reported. In one village it was said that if a cyclone had struck the community the results could not have been more harmful.

The Klan was found at the apex of its power in a Colorado community. The lines were drawn taut, the forces marshaled. There was no neutral ground. The energies of the Klan had for a year been directed against a parochial school and in favor of education in Americanism and law-enforcement. It played a vigorous part in local and county politics and was said to be in complete control of both town and county offices and of the board of education. Meanwhile, however, the anti-Klan forces had gradually been gathering strength, and a crisis was precipi-

tated when these came out into the open with an organization named the Unity League. A declaration of principles and a program of action were printed. There was no secrecy about the identity of the officers, and no effort was spared in setting up a complete political machine for the whole county with a local organization in each precinct. The aim was "to wipe the slate" of every Klan official.

The fight centered upon the candidate recently elected to the school board who, though not a member of the Klan, was the Klan's choice. Charges and counter-charges of fraud in the election were made. The Unity Leaguers maintained that certain teachers had been dropped because of their religious affiliation, and one Klan member admitted that there was some truth in the assertion.

The result was that at the time of the survey the Klan issue so dominated the entire community that no one of any prominence could stay aloof from it or remain neutral. Those leaders who were more sane and balanced recognized that the situation could not continue, but were debating whether to go on with their organizations or to halt and try to take a middle ground. To adopt the latter alternative, they feared, would leave them stranded without a constituency, for they could not be sure whether any one would follow them. With the two newspapers on opposite sides, with the churches divided into two camps, with community leaders bound to opposing organizations, with villagers and farmers at loggerheads, the community was marking time. Business lagged, and banker, farmer and storekeeper were beginning to understand what the situation meant in terms of prosperity.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The purely social groups are third on the list and form a most interesting part of the life of the village, affecting, as they do, every other field of community activity. In them center the influences that place their stamp upon the local newspapers, that most actively support the moving-picture theater, that determine the success of home trade along Main Street and that form the closest links between the villages and the outside world. It is largely to the social organizations that villages look for their

barbecues, plays, minstrels, dances, musicales, pageants and concerts, though some of these affairs are also sponsored by lodge, civic and economic groups.

The social organizations were found to include two varieties. In the one case the members played bridge, served tea, sewed and danced, and occasionally carried on the semblance of a study program. Thus one club leader, interviewed concerning the policies of her organization, remarked that in order to be unhampered the club had chosen for its annual subject "Men, Women and Affairs." Another had for its program "Poetry, Flowers, Perfume and European Affairs." This variety seems to desire no study program as such, but is interested in miscellaneous subjects and thrives on entertainment and refreshment. The second variety is more interested in real study and has some definite aim of service to members and to community. Outside speakers and local talent are called upon; plays and fairs are put on for charitable purposes, and earnest consideration is given to community welfare.

Social groups were found to have the smallest individual memberships and the largest average attendance in proportion to membership. They must be counted among the less democratic groups. Memberships were often found to follow family lines, to be bounded by age limits, to include only certain sections of villages and to admit only those of definite social position. Denomination was often a factor. In a New York village, for example, the lines of denominational cleavages were to be seen in lodge, school and social organizations, even in the village band. Where church affiliations counted as influences in the social make-up, it was generally found that the leaders of the community were of the older generation. Especially was this true in the retired farmers' villages of the older sections of the country.

The largest average number of social organizations, five, was found in the Far West, while eight villages had seven or more purely social groups. The Middle West villages had the second largest number of social organizations, usually consisting of six or eight members each, nearly all of whom were women. A county-seat town in Iowa was very proud of its eighteen purely social clubs. Each had its publicity space in the local paper and its own meeting-day, but seldom any constructive program. It

was said that as one social group was organized in one section of the community with a limited membership, another group, left out of the first, would straightway organize another club. The "Keeping up with Lizzie" character of the community's social life had resulted in the growth of numerous cliques and coöperative community work was out of the question. This kind of over-organization was especially prevalent in communities of the Middle and Far West and was reckoned by church and community leaders as one of their chief problems.

In all four areas the total number of social organizations was 379, an average of 2.7 organizations to a village. Of the 289 groups for which data on time of organization were available, over four-fifths had come into existence since 1920. In spite of the fact that this type of society abounds in the villages, only 2 per cent. of the men, 11 per cent. of the women and 2 per cent. of the men and women in mixed groups were members of social groups. Eleven villages were found to have seven or more of this kind of organization, four had six and six had five purely social groups. Fifty-five per cent. of the clubs were found in medium-sized villages, which have in them only 40 per cent. of the population.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

Economic organizations come next to the social groups in number and include chambers of commerce, business men's clubs, Rotary, Lions and Kiwanis groups. For purposes of the present study Farm Bureaus and Grange organizations are also counted under this head.

Economic groups have been responsible for the improvement of marketing facilities, better business and more coöperation among business men and between farmers and business men.

Listed among the activities and celebrations of these economic groups are the following: Implement Day, Community Day, Farmers' Spree, Old Settlers' Picnic, Poultry Show, Community Mix, Livestock Show, Ford Day, Izaak Walton Picnic, Ox Roast, County Field Day, Rose Show, Dairymen's Day, Harvest Home, Old Home Week, May Festival, Corn Show, Fiddlers' Convention, Field Day Celebration and Pioneer Day.

Kiwanis Clubs were often the leading social as well as eco-

conomic force in villages. The offices of the local chambers of commerce and farm bureaus were the centers of community "boosting" wherever active. Seldom, however, was there much active coöperation between the two organizations, though in both offices there were inevitably found specimens of the products raised in their communities. Chambers of commerce with paid executives were doing for the village what the successful Farm Bureaus with their county agents were doing for the surrounding country. In cases where a board of trade or other business men's group was organized without a paid secretary its standing in the community was often doubtful. On the list of inactive organizations the number of economic groups exceeded that of all other kinds of organizations. Thirty-one village and nine country groups once organized were no longer functioning.

PATRIOTIC AGENCIES

Next in number are the patriotic groups, most numerous among which are the Legion and its Auxiliary. These two organizations have been responsible for considerable community service—have laid out parks, built community houses, put on programs, appealed for more recreation for the young people and taken charge of Memorial Day and other national holiday programs. It would appear that some of these groups have sought to carry on the lessons of war service by social agencies in the home town.

Patriotic groups form 9 per cent. of the total number of community organizations, and include in their membership 7 per cent. of the total enrollment of men's groups and 17 per cent. of the total enrollment of groups for women. The number of members of patriotic societies in mixed groups is negligible. Of the 257 groups, 57 per cent. were located in medium-size villages.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Educational organizations are fewer in number than other groups, but when adequate leadership is available they exercise a valuable influence in villages. The task of organization is often complicated by the fact that schools and communities at

times find it difficult to understand each other. The teachers in the public schools of villages usually come from the outside and are often regarded as strangers in a strange land, finding it hard to secure places to live, keeping their own counsel, and when vacation time comes leaving at the earliest possible moment.

Parent-Teachers Associations are the most numerous of the educational groups in all four areas, and where these were successfully organized, excellent work was being done along the various lines described in Chapter V.¹

Other educational groups included Shakespeare clubs, literary societies, historical and library associations, current events clubs and reading circles. The 140 villages had an average of 1.25 organizations of an educational nature. Thirty-five, however, had none at all. The remaining 105 had 176 such groups, an average of 1.7 to the village. This would indicate that where a village had an organized educational interest the tendency was to have more than one group. The total number of men enrolled in educational groups equaled less than 1 per cent. of the total number of men enrolled in any organization. For the women the figure was 8 per cent. Educational interests made more of an appeal to mixed groups than to either men or women separately. Of the total number in all mixed groups, educational organizations made up 16 per cent.

ORGANIZED ATHLETICS

Athletic groups play a definite part in community affairs. Town teams backed by the business men's or home men's organization are hailed with enthusiasm. Outside players are often included to give the games greater prestige. One would expect that boys' and girls' groups would appear with considerable frequency in this type of organization, but out of sixty athletic groups in the Middle West, not one is for young people. The athletic groups include golf clubs, baseball clubs, bowling teams, rod and gun, tennis, horseshoe, fish and game, and country clubs. Of twenty-four athletic groups in the Middle Atlantic area, one hiking group of twenty girls is listed. Athletic organizations include 4 per cent. of all community groups, 4 per cent. of the men's enrollment in all types of organization, less than 1 per cent. of the

¹ Pp. 169 ff.

enrollment of women in organizations and 2 per cent. of the enrollment in all mixed groups.

MUSICAL CLUBS

Musical organizations, though few in number, were found to be of great importance among the social forces of some of the villages. They were often the only recreational link between the older and the younger generation. The "kid" band and the village band with their concerts through the summer months added not only to the cultural, but to the economic growth of communities. In one county seat town in Iowa the "kid" band was gradually supplanting the adult band and was the most satisfactory working group for young people in the community. Bands were in many cases supported by tax and were included in the village budget.

Musical groups were found in seventy-six villages and included, besides bands, choruses and orchestras, all of which were in constant demand not only in the villages where they were organized, but sometimes throughout the county. In an Indiana village the band was acknowledged to be the "biggest thing." The weekly concerts in a northwestern village attracted crowds from the surrounding towns, while four commercial orchestras were in demand for dances in the neighboring country communities. This community also boasted a "kid" band of fifty-two members, fourteen of them girls, who rehearsed every day during the summer of 1924 and played every Saturday night in an open-air concert. The band in a California village was interested in a project for the purchase of a park that might be used for a children's playground as well as for open-air concerts. Community service by music was thus a considerable factor in the social make-up of some of the villages.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AGENCIES

Sixty-five per cent. of the villages had at least one socio-religious organization, usually a Boy Scout or Girl Scout group, and these presented almost the only effort on the part of villages to serve the needs of the young people. These groups were usually led by pastors, teachers or church leaders, and their pro-

gram consisted mainly of scouting, with no consistent effort to carry on any activities along the lines of community service.

In all there were 180 socio-religious groups listed, with an average of 1.9 organizations to the village. They were most numerous in the Middle West and Far West, and they included about 2 per cent. both of the males and of the females enrolled in organizations in the communities studied. With hardly an exception villages found it almost impossible to secure adequate leadership for their young people's groups. The fact that twenty-nine inactive socio-religious organizations were listed in the survey indicates something of the indifference of villages toward this type of organization.

DORMANT ORGANIZATIONS

In the entire study more than 100 inactive organizations were found, the majority of them dormant from lack of leadership or interest. In some cases other organizations had taken their places. In the thirty southern villages were found the largest number, proportionately, including six chamber of commerce groups, seven Boy Scouts organizations, three civic improvement clubs, four American Legion groups, four lodge groups and a scattering of other organizations, totaling in all sixty-two. The Middle West had the fewest dead organizations, and those that were inactive had generally become so because of duplication of function in their respective communities.

ABSENCE OF CLASS DISTINCTIONS

One of the most noteworthy features in the social structure of the villages was the lack of class distinction in men's organizations. There are two main classes of persons living in the 140 communities, the business and professional group and the group made up of semi-skilled workmen. In larger centers the plumber, the garage-man and the carpenter seldom mingle with the lawyer, doctor, merchant and banker. In the villages studied very little distinction was observed between the two groups. They belonged to many of the same organizations and especially in the lodges all were in one class. There was evidence of far greater class feeling between new residents and old, between persons of different denominations, between Protestant and Roman

Catholic, between young and old, than between industrial and professional groups.

EFFECT OF LEADERSHIP

Very often, where there was one outstanding club with exceptional leadership, all the other organizations were influenced by it. In a New York village, for example, two organizations, a home bureau for women and a socio-civic club for men, dominate the entire life of the community. Through them the activities of church, school, lodge and community in general have been remolded. The women's group carries a program that covers virtually the whole range of relations of the housewife to her home and to the community. Linked with county and state organizations it has the advantage of outside contacts and of the best leadership. The program includes courses in nutrition, hygiene, sanitation, house-furnishing and decoration, civics, recreation, canning, household management and first aid.

The men's group, also well led, is said to have been responsible for a complete change in the complexion of the life of the village. It introduced "Old Home Week" celebrations and Chautauqua, built up the band and the high-school orchestra, provided an athletic field, got behind the project for purchasing a town water-plant, led the campaign for road building and street paving, instituted clean-ups and encouraged the beautification of front lawns. It has healed the breach between factions and between churches. The old Court House has become a community hall and at the time of the survey estimates were being made as to the cost of a new complete community hall. The object of this club is "to coöperate with all other agencies for the advancement and betterment of the community, to encourage and aid all civic improvements, to promote and foster commercial interests and to increase the personal efficiency of the members by the interchange of business ideas and methods." Any person of good character may be a member by the unanimous vote of the club. The Roman Catholic priest, the Methodist hotel-keeper, the Presbyterian milk-dealer and the Missouri Lutheran garage man are all active, friendly members of this organization. Petty quarrels have ceased and only the last smouldering embers of bitter fires were in evidence in this village.

TOWN AND COUNTRY

Among farmers' organizations the farm bureau is the most important, and in different parts of the country it was found to be filling a variety of needs. Sometimes the bureau existed merely in an advisory capacity, sometimes it was the only socializing influence among the farmers, often its main activities were among school children in club work, but usually it played the part of social, educational and economic organization. Since it had the advantage of paid leadership, the organization was generally successful.

Usually it was the center of other activities—women's social clubs, home economics, addresses by outside speakers, demonstrations of crop production, motion-picture lectures by county agent or other experts, pig and calf club activities and socials. Club activity in the country included young and old and was more of a family affair than in the village.

In the country, clubs have been formed mainly for two reasons—to break the monotony and to develop interest along educational lines. In a house-to-house canvass of a rural Wisconsin community a question was put to farm women: "What suggestions have you for a better community?" The following answers show something of the ideas that represent the present-day thinking of farm women in rural sections of the Middle West:

More sociability,
Larger community building (at center),
More lectures (at center),
Young people's work,
Town should take more interest in country,
Better roads,
Park improvement in village,
Better school facilities,
A county health nurse,
Lower prices in village stores,
Better markets for farm produce.

These answers seem to show that farm women as well as farm men are coming to regard the larger center as their own, that their social interests are centering in the places in which they trade, send their children to school, go to the movies, attend

the band concerts, go to church and buy their gasoline. Certainly this is the case with many country women. They are becoming accustomed to join with village women in their social groups. This, however, does not necessarily mean that they relinquish their interest in the distinctively country organizations. Many, especially the more progressive or the more prosperous, are members of both groups, while a certain number will always be found who, whether from choice or from necessity, give their allegiance only to the country organizations.

The extent to which the organizational life of a village may be shared by the surrounding country was illustrated by a Federated Women's Club in a western community where 50 per cent. of the members, including the president, a young college woman, lived in the country. In Middle West communities it frequently happened that a field worker, seeking information concerning village organizations, took trips out into the open country to find their leading members. In the South and Middle Atlantic areas there was less interest on the part of country women in social expression, less country leadership, more reliance upon the country church as a social center and less dependence upon the village itself for anything but trade.

COUNTRY MEMBERS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Percentages of country people belonging to lodges and other community groups in the three sizes of villages show that, with the exception of medium-sized villages of the Far West, there are in all three groups more country members in lodges than in any other type of organization. In the small villages the South has by far the largest percentage of country lodge members. The percentage of country people in all other southern organizations decreases as the population increases. Southern farmers belong to and attend lodges and have little interest in the other activities of villages except for trading purposes.

It is worth noting in Table LXVIII that only in the small-size villages of the Far West did the proportion of country people in other than lodge organizations exceed 36 per cent. It hardly seems likely that this result is due simply to the chance of the sample, and it may probably be interpreted, therefore, as tending to confirm the statement that in the Far West, more

than in any other area, the farmer regards the village as peculiarly his own and looks to it for all the services he needs. This table also confirms what has already been shown, that in the Middle Atlantic and southern communities country people were less enthusiastic in their relations with village social activities, and

TABLE LXVIII—COUNTRY MEMBERS OF VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Region	Community Population		Lodge Members		Non-lodge Members	
	Per Cent. Country Total Population		Per Cent. Country Total Members		Per Cent. Country Total Members	
<i>Small Villages</i>						
Middle Atlantic ...	28,702	62.8	6,023	29.5	5,347	15.9
South *	18,924	68.1	2,312	51.0	1,475	12.2
Middle West	31,776	58.5	8,307	38.5	6,275	30.3
Far West	8,963	62.9	3,037	44.9	2,098	36.7
<i>Medium Villages</i>						
Middle Atlantic ...	28,705	55.1	6,490	37.3	7,338	18.4
South *	33,140	60.0	4,313	25.4	2,178	11.8
Middle West	91,624	57.1	23,472	31.4	16,265	28.1
Far West	25,601	61.6	4,421	35.0	3,668	32.9
<i>Large Villages</i>						
Middle Atlantic ...	15,951	50.1	2,004	21.0	3,523	10.5
South *	45,254	52.8	300	24.7	204	20.1
Middle West	55,859	53.4	15,334	29.6	15,440	22.6
Far West	40,606	47.6	9,468	33.6	8,874	25.5

* Colored population is not included.

that in all four regions the number of country people in village organizations invariably was found to decrease as the populations of villages increased.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The social network of villages was very evidently not arranged according to any comprehensive plan. It came into existence through the development of many independent elements. Just as settlers brought with them a preference for churches of different denominations, so they introduced other institutions and organizations for the satisfaction of a variety of needs. Some of the groups arose in consequence of public events; some, such as lodges and Boy Scouts, as representative of national bodies and others in response to a specific local need. In most villages these numerous agencies were in no way co-

ordinated, so that there was constant overlapping of service; people were often members of so many different societies that their interests and energies were diffused and no unified effort was possible.

In one village, for example, six different halls were hired by various agencies, yet no one of them was adequate for most of the community's activities. In many cases six or eight organizations in a village dabbled in relief work with no attempt at concentrated effort. In one New York village relief was administered by churches and church organizations, Woman's Relief Corps, American Legion and its Auxiliary, Women's Christian Temperance Union, and various lodges.

Thus, in general, it was the exception rather than the rule to find a place where serious consideration was given to the needs of the whole community. Some examples of coördinated community work were, however, found, particularly in the South, where the villages were less overorganized than in other regions.

One of the most successful of such communities, in adult social organization at least, was in Kentucky. The population numbered 1,718. There were only two lodges active: the Masonic and Eastern Star, and only six other community organizations, each alive and carrying constructive programs for civic and social welfare. No one organization worked alone. The School Improvement Association served pie when the Woman's Club served the other courses to the visitors at the County Fair. The Woman's Club and American Legion held a joint carnival and together paid for the film shown at the local theater for the benefit of the Legion. The School Improvement Club and Woman's Club shared the expense of prizes to pupils showing the most efficient work at the Fair. The Kiwanis Club, only a year old, was busy with a project to raise bonds for waterworks. It had paid one-half of the expenses for the members of a Junior club to attend club week activities at Lexington. It held a barbecue during the Junior Club camp week and offered two \$5 prizes to school pupils writing the best essays on "The Value of Owning a System of Waterworks at Home."²

² No instance was found in the village study of a working community council which, as such, successfully coördinated the life and activity of the social groups and organizations of the village, and in all its rural studies the Institute of Social and Religious Research has found only one such organization successfully functioning.

MEMBERSHIP DATA

In Table LXIX is given the number in each region³ of the nearly 3,000 organizations, other than those connected with church and school, that were found in the 140 villages.

TABLE LXIX—COMMUNITY AND CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS*

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>Community Organizations</i>		<i>Church Organizations</i>	
		<i>Total</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Average</i>
All regions	140	2,961	21.1	2,259	16.1
Middle Atlantic	28	476	17.0	480	17.1
South	30	322	10.7	431	14.3
Middle West	60	1,491	24.8	1,034	17.2
Far West	22	672	30.5	314	14.3

* Tables LXIX-LXXV exclude data on Negro organizations.

It will be noticed that only in the South and Middle Atlantic regions were the church organizations more numerous than the community organizations, and in the latter region the numbers were virtually equal. In the Far West the number of social groups to the community averaged more than twice the number of church organizations.

Total memberships in church groups were found to be far below those of community organizations. In this connection, however, it must be remembered that there is probably far greater duplication in community than in church group membership. Data are not available to show how many persons belong to one community organization only; but in many villages it was found that persons who were members of one were generally members of from three to seven organizations. In every village studied field workers found the proverbial "joiner."

In the Far West, though the community organizations for which memberships are available equal less than twice the number of church groups, the community group enrollment is nearly four times that of the church groups. For all four areas the enrollment of community organizations outnumbers the total church organization enrollment by more than 100,000.

By far the largest average number of social organizations were found in western, and the smallest average number in southern, villages. Southern society centers in church, patriotic,

³ Since the social structure of villages differs greatly in the four regions studied, membership data are treated by region rather than on a national basis.

fraternal and educational organizations, many of them dating back to Civil War days. Of the recently organized groups in this area the majority are connected with state organizations. Social and economic organizations dominate the Middle and Far West, and though in the Middle Atlantic area there is no dearth of organizations, church organizations rank first in importance.

TABLE LXX—NUMBER AND ENROLLMENT OF COMMUNITY AND CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Community Organizations</i>		<i>Church Organizations</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>
All regions	2,684 *	173,449	1,855 †	65,326
Middle Atlantic	445	36,409	376	16,064
South	313	16,780	320	9,105
Middle West	1,355	87,345	830	31,383
Far West	571	32,915	329	8,774

* Excludes 277 community organizations which did not report enrollment.

† Excludes 404 church organizations which did not report enrollment.

Memberships of men's organizations were found to range from an average of sixty-three in the Far West to eighty-two in the Middle Atlantic area; women's organizations averaged forty-one members, boys' twenty-seven, girls' twenty, with little variation in all four areas, and mixed groups ranged from sixty-two in southern to 154 in Middle Atlantic villages.

Over two-fifths of the total number of organizations were for adult males, one-third were for women, 18 per cent. included men and women, 4 per cent. were for boys and 3 per cent. were for girls.

FINANCES

In the study of the churches, the average per capita expenditure for all purposes was \$16.89. Though the total expenditure of the 1,898 social organizations that had any expense last year amounted to over \$800,000, their average per capita expense amounted to only \$4.68 for lodges and \$6.81 for other groups. Lodge expenses in this study do not include insurance or funds spent on new buildings, but only the amount expended for the general running of the organizations. Middle Atlantic and far-western lodges spent the largest average per capita amounts and the middle-western lodges the smallest. The opposite, however, is true in the matter of expenditures by economic groups that

dominate the village life of the newer areas. The average per capita expenditures in social groups of the Middle West and South are negligible. In that area club life was found to be the most active, but was of the type that spent little money and that was carried on simply for its own sake.

TABLE LXXI—EXPENDITURE OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Fraternal</i>	<i>Civic</i>	<i>Patriotic</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Socio- Religious</i>	<i>Educa- tional</i>	<i>Athletic</i>	<i>Musical</i>
	<i>All Regions</i>									
Number of organi- zations	1,898	822	293	226	114	107	107	93	75	61
Per capita expendi- ture (dollars) ..	5.66	4.68	4.92	7.79	11.84	5.24	3.66	2.08	13.36	19.30
	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>									
Number of organi- zations	315	109	66	36	35	8	17	18	16	10
Per capita expendi- ture (dollars) ..	6.53	6.86	3.82	3.96	9.76	18.46	5.66	1.93	6.13	18.18
	<i>South</i>									
Number of organi- zations	194	93	34	26	9	..	4	20	..	8
Per capita expendi- ture (dollars) ..	7.04	5.49	12.80	5.04	12.38	..	4.16	5.83	..	9.61
	<i>Middle West</i>									
Number of organi- zations	984	429	133	125	35	73	63	48	42	36
Per capita expendi- ture (dollars) ..	4.51	3.28	5.26	6.44	10.97	1.78	3.51	.96	15.12	20.73
	<i>Far West</i>									
Number of organi- zations	405	191	60	39	35	26	23	7	17	7
Per capita expendi- ture (dollars) ..	7.15	6.35	2.71	11.38	17.19	6.40	2.74	3.18	20.63	20.94

Musical organizations showed high average expenditures for the reason that the expenses of bands for hall rental, uniforms, instruments, music and players were included. These organizations, however, were largely self-sustaining.

AGES OF ORGANIZATIONS

Dates for the organization of 2,315 groups for which data are available show that 32 per cent. have come into existence

since 1920. It would seem from Table LXXII that with the end of the War, with its Red Cross and other patriotic work, came a fresh impetus for working together along other lines. The figures would also seem to show a definite trend away from the lodge to civic and social organizations.

TABLE LXXII—SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS STARTED SINCE 1920

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Total Number</i>	<i>Per Cent. Started Since 1920</i>
Total	2,315	32.3
Athletic	76	72.4
Socio-religious	152	71.7
Musical	74	62.1
Economic	228	57.9
Educational	139	46.8
Social	289	41.9
Civic	330	29.4
Patriotic	218	24.3
Lodges	809	8.8

An Iowa village in the richest part of the state is a striking example of these tendencies. The total village and country population of this community was 2,947, of which number 992 lived in the village and 1,955 in the open country. There were forty-eight organizations other than those connected with church and school. Eighteen of these were purely social groups, and all but one of them included only women. Their total membership was a little more than 300, averaging only seventeen to the organization. With the exception of one, all were organized or reorganized since 1910 and ten since 1920.

In one of the larger Oregon communities there were twenty-two women's social organizations, half of them devoted to cards or to purely social activities. Prior to 1914 there was but one organized group, a woman's club, which carried on a civic program. During the War this organization disintegrated, and after the War twelve others sprang up, with no special program in view.

ATTENDANCE AND ENROLLMENT

Wide differences between membership and attendance show that it means more to most villages to be members of the various

groups than to take active part in their meetings. Especially is this true of lodge groups. In the western villages studied there were nineteen lodges with more than 200 members each. None had an average attendance of over seventy-five. Three had average attendances of from ten to twenty-five, thirteen between twenty-five and fifty, and the other three between fifty and seventy-five. The lodge and the church have some problems in common.

In 206 western lodges, with an enrollment of more than 16,000, the total average attendance equaled a little over 28 per cent. of the membership. In this area civic organizations showed a still lower percentage of attendance—26 per cent. On the other hand, the social groups had a different story to tell. In eighty-six social clubs over three-fourths of the members were included in the average attendance.

TABLE LXXIII—MEMBERSHIP AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCE IN LODGES

<i>Membership</i>	<i>Number of Lodges</i>	<i>Average Attendance</i>			
		<i>Under 10</i>	<i>10 to 25</i>	<i>25 to 50</i>	<i>50 and Over</i>
Total	847	85	448	279	35
Under 50	235	58	157	20	..
50 to 100	304	20	195	88	1
100 to 200	308	7	96	171	34

In the church study it was found that one-fourth of the village churches had enrollments of fifty or less. This same percentage holds for the lodges in the study. Two hundred and thirty-four, or 25 per cent. of the total number, are in the group that had fifty or fewer members.

A low average attendance was found to be common to the lodges of all four areas.

In all four areas there were 298 purely social organizations for which membership and attendance figures are available. Ninety-two per cent. of these had fewer than fifty members each and 96 per cent. had an average attendance of fifty or fewer. Using the middle-western organizations as an average helps to set forth some typical comparisons between kinds of groups and between memberships and attendance and to point out clearly where the main social interests lie.

Southern village organizations are fewer and better attended.

There is, therefore, less overlapping of function and less duplication in membership. The social structure is less complex and each group holds a larger place in the community. In the Middle Atlantic area much the same conditions are found and membership and attendance figures vary less than in the West or Middle West.

The small groups were best attended in all four areas on account of the fact that the small organizations were usually purely social groups, such as card clubs and embroidery clubs, which counted on 100 per cent. attendance.

TABLE LXXIV—MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MIDDLE WEST

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Number of Organizations *</i>	<i>Average Membership</i>	<i>Average Attendance</i>
Total	984	75	24
Fraternal	429	99	22
Civic	133	77	25
Patriotic	125	49	19
Social	73	34	26
Socio-religious	63	45	21
Educational	48	82	40
Athletic	42	40	20
Musical	36	28	23
Economic	35	98	41

* Only those organizations reporting expenditures are included; therefore totals do not agree with Table LXXV.

In the western villages studied both membership and attendance ranged from ten to twenty-five in fifty out of fifty-three social clubs. Civic groups in that area showed a different tendency. Of twenty-four civic groups having from twenty-five to fifty members, only one-fourth had an average attendance of from twenty-five to fifty and more than one-half of them had an average attendance of between ten and twenty-five.

Fraternal organizations were best attended in the southern villages, though in this area the average attendance equaled only a little more than one-third of the lodge enrollment. Social groups also showed a higher average attendance in the South, and in every area with the exception of the Middle Atlantic the average attendance of social groups included more than three-fourths of their enrollment.

Civic groups in all four areas had an average attendance of

less than 50 per cent. of their memberships, and this held true in economic and patriotic groups also, as is seen in Table LXXV.

TABLE LXXV—RATIO OF ATTENDANCE TO MEMBERSHIP IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Fraternal</i>	<i>Civic</i>	<i>Patriotic</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Socio-religious</i>	<i>Educational</i>	<i>Athletic</i>	<i>Musical</i>
	<i>All Regions</i>									
Number of organizations	2,514	921	367	259	164	298	96	152	168	89
Ratio of attendance to membership (per cent.)	34.3	25.4	30.4	40.2	39.5	75.4	58.7	50.3	46.0	81.7
	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>									
Number of organizations	438	127	81	48	49	32	21	39	26	15
Ratio of attendance to membership (per cent.)	30.8	23.2	25.5	42.6	34.0	58.8	44.0	45.9	56.8	80.6
	<i>South</i>									
Number of organizations	284	116	47	31	12	25	..	33	6	14
Ratio of attendance to membership (per cent.)	40.6	37.5	36.0	44.0	32.0	96.0	..	46.0	83.0	74.0
	<i>Middle West</i>									
Number of organizations	1,254	472	162	138	58	154	57	64	101	48
Ratio of attendance to membership (per cent.)	33.9	22.3	34.8	39.5	46.7	77.3	50.8	51.0	53.1	84.0
	<i>Far West</i>									
Number of organizations	538	206	77	42	45	87	18	16	35	12
Ratio of attendance to membership (per cent.)	35.8	28.6	26.5	38.0	42.0	75.3	34.1	64.9	76.3	78.7

THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S PROBLEM

Membership figures are available for 2,684 of the social organizations. They enroll 173,957 persons though many of these, as previously stated, are members of several organizations. Only 7 per cent. of the total number of organizations are for boys and girls. Of the total enrolled in all groups only a little over 2 per cent. are members of boys' and girls' organizations, yet almost

19 per cent. of the population are boys and girls between the ages of ten and twenty.

Generally speaking, the agricultural village has provided lavishly for the social satisfaction of its grown-ups, but only the exceptional village has taken its young people seriously into account. Nor have the churches as a rule taken the responsibility of discovering and meeting the needs of their young people. The following summarizes the opinion on this subject expressed by an experienced field worker: "The average village community considers itself apart from its young people, is quite often ashamed of them, does not understand them, and lays the blame for young people's restlessness to the jazz band and automobile instead of facing the charge of negligence and lack of sympathetic understanding in its own scheme of living."

In the Middle Atlantic area there are eighteen organizations for boys and five for girls, with a combined membership of 471, or just 1 per cent. of the total number included in all organizations of this area. In the South there is just one girls' group of twenty in a list of 312 organizations. This list includes only five boys' groups, with a combined membership of 105, or one-half of 1 per cent. of the enrollment of all organizations in this area.

Nine per cent. of the far-western organizations and 7 per cent. of the middle-western are for boys and girls. Many of these are educational in program and are connected with agricultural organizations, such as the Farm Bureau.

The chapter on schools explains that about one-third of the villages have included in their educational program recreational activities that in some measure fill the needs of at least the boys and girls of school age. With the exception of one or two business girls' clubs and about half a dozen junior lodges, there was found little provision for the recreation of the boys and girls beyond high-school age.

In a few communities young people's programs of outstanding merit were found, but in general the social make-up of villages, as found in the study of 140 communities, presented a complex system of varied, overlapping interests carried forward chiefly by adults for the satisfaction of adults.

This situation makes it interesting to discover what the young

people like to do in their free time. Three thousand high-school boys and girls, nearly half of them from farm homes, were asked to name their three favorite recreations. Residence affected the choices little except that reading, riding and gardening were more popular among country boys and girls than among village high-school students. Conversely, hiking appealed more to village than to country youth.

For the boys, organized athletics such as baseball and basketball lead, such sports being mentioned 1,755 times. Swimming was second choice, being mentioned 592 times. Cultural pursuits, such as reading or playing some musical instrument, stood third with 495. Hunting, fishing and all other outdoor sports, such as hiking, camping, riding, etc., followed in order. None of these three main categories commanded less than 350 mentions. It is interesting that dancing was mentioned only 120 times and the movies only 59. Motoring, billiards, cards and parties were among the other amusements that were relatively unpopular, each scoring less than 50.

For the girls, organized athletics and reading led, being mentioned 1,196 and 1,171 times respectively. Swimming was third, with 673, followed by hiking with 523. Dancing was mentioned by 513, evidently appealing more to girls than to boys. Other cultural pursuits totaled 492. Riding, with 349, and all other outdoor sports came next in order. Motoring was mentioned 184 times, the movies 28, and parties 29. All other amusements combined scored only 62. The girls' choices were less varied than those of the boys.

LIBRARIES, NEWSPAPERS, MOVIES

This chapter has dealt thus far with the more transient, ever-changing community organizations and their varied activities. There remains to be stated the part played by some of the more firmly established institutions founded by villages and their organized groups for their cultural, educational and recreational development.⁴

Among these institutions the library stands preëminent.

⁴ The balance of this chapter was written largely by Elizabeth Wootten, of the field staff of the survey.

This study bears out the statement of Mr. William S. Learned, of the staff of the Carnegie Foundation, that "less than one-half of the population of the United States has direct access to centers where good library service could possibly exist."

Only seventy-nine, or 56 per cent., of the 140 villages studied have libraries of any kind. Especially does Mr. Learned's statement hold true in the forty-seven villages of less than 1,000 in population, as only 30 per cent. of these have library facilities.

The percentage of libraries to villages studied differs widely in the four geographical regions. Of the twenty-two places in the Far West, 86 per cent. have libraries, and of the sixty in the Middle West 65 per cent. have libraries. The southern and Middle Atlantic regions show poorer records—only 41 per cent. of the Middle Atlantic and 31 per cent. of the southern villages have such institutions.⁵

In the establishment of these libraries the women's clubs play an important rôle. In the four regions they established more than one-third of the seventy-nine libraries, although many have since become Carnegie or town institutions. Only four of the total number were organized by regular library associations.

Often voluntary workers from these clubs take charge of the libraries in their infancy and foster them until they can join the ranks of those having "paid workers." Of the libraries studied, three-fourths supply for themselves at least partial service of this kind. In this respect again, the Middle West and the Far West lead: 85 per cent. of the middle-western libraries have some regular paid service, and 89.5 per cent. of the far-western institutions, while in the South less than one-half and in the Middle Atlantic about two-thirds of the libraries avail themselves of the services of regularly paid librarians.

It is true that the rural librarian is often a mere stamper of books borrowed. Frequently she serves without pay and is untrained for the work. She sees that the books returned are put back on the shelves. She admonishes the noisy little readers who are the best acquainted with the rural libraries. But she is not always the alert, interested person who says to the borrower, "Have you read this new book? It's about —, Mr. — just brought it back and he liked it so much." Mr. Learned says that "the acquisition of knowledge is forbidding for many chiefly

⁵ These figures exclude school libraries, for which see Chapter V.

because it is housed in books. It takes one who knows books to sell the idea of reading worthwhile books, and to overcome the reluctance of people to seek information."

BUILDINGS

Separate buildings house forty of the seventy-nine libraries. The Far West has 63 per cent. of such buildings. The other regions follow with 37 per cent. in the Middle West, 33 per cent. in the Middle Atlantic and 22 per cent. in the South. It is not always the best towns, however, that have the best libraries. One community in northwest Iowa, which, according to the inhabitants, is slowly dying from bank failure and land speculation, has a dingy little upstairs library that is the leading institution of the town. The Woman's Club has charge of it and the ladies take turns in giving librarian service. As soon as the doors are open there begins a steady stream of boys and girls, men and women, both from town and country, to read and borrow books. It is a library poor in equipment but rich in service.

Another Iowa library has succeeded in becoming an intelligence center. The librarian is one of the few real women leaders of the community and having lived all her life in this place, she knows the needs of the people. Careful supervision is given to the young people's reading. The library is in close touch with the school. It is on the lookout for the best new books. It is used regularly as a reference bureau by the study clubs.

Another outstanding rural library in the Middle West is in a Wisconsin village. It is a Carnegie institution, eight years old, and is housed in a building at the edge of town where there are big sunny reading rooms, a well-catalogued supply of nearly 3,000 books, and a trained librarian on duty every week day. New books are advertised in the local paper. Placards are placed in store windows when new information is at hand. In a neighboring village the same story is repeated with the addition that weekly circulation figures and new book lists are displayed at the moving-picture house.

BOOKS AND CIRCULATION

The libraries studied in the South were invariably small. Of the nine, seven have fewer than 1,000 books each. Of the twelve

in the Middle Atlantic region ten libraries range from 1,500 to 6,500 volumes each, while the other two have more than 6,500. Five of the thirty-nine Middle West libraries are small, reporting fewer than 1,000 volumes each; sixteen have from 1,000 to 3,000; seven have from 3,000 to 5,000; and eleven have from 5,000 to 10,000 volumes each. Only two of the Far West villages report fewer than 1,000 volumes; six report from 1,000 to 3,000; eight from 3,000 to 5,000; and three from 5,000 to 18,000 volumes.

More than one-half of the sixty-eight libraries that reported on new books acquired fewer than 200 during the preceding year. There seems to be no correlation between the number of volumes in the libraries and the number purchased during their last fiscal year. Many times the addition of books is left for local clubs that contribute a small part of their budget each year for this purpose, and often the source is a book canvass and the result very like the contents of the proverbial missionary barrel. Such methods may augment the number of volumes, but they contribute little to the attempt to make cultural centers of libraries.

The range in hours of service per week runs from less than two to sixty-six hours. Again the extremes are found in the Far West and in the South, the former region having fifteen of the twenty-two libraries that are open from twelve to thirty-eight hours a week.

In attempting to serve the open-country part of their communities it was found that village libraries were faced with real difficulties, which very few of them had been able to overcome. Farmers often lack leisure time for reading and village libraries lack the funds to extend their services to any great distance from the center, while few of them have librarians with the ambition or the ability to organize such extension service. The result is that the farmer's table is often bare of books, though it may be piled high with magazines, farm journals, bulletins and mail-order catalogues.

In twenty-eight middle-western villages where reports were available the book borrowers numbered 16,795 out of a total population of 38,173, or 44 per cent., which was higher than the national average. But in the open country surrounding these twenty-eight villages the population was estimated at 47,984

and the number of country borrowers was only 5,658, or 12 per cent. of the population.

In the five southern villages reporting on library circulation the number of borrowers was very low, 7 per cent. in the villages, while in the country contiguous to these communities there were only eighteen borrowers for an estimated population of 16,366, or 0.1 per cent. of the population.

In the Far West there were reports for all nineteen libraries. The total population of the villages studied was 24,579, and the number of borrowers 10,282, or 42 per cent. of the village residents. The estimated country population was 28,535 and the number of borrowers 2,277, or 8 per cent. of the population.

The proportion of population borrowing books in the Middle Atlantic region was not available.

Thirty-two libraries in the middle-western area, giving figures for 1924, reported a circulation of 338,628 volumes, an average of three books per inhabitant. This same average held in the Middle Atlantic region, increased to 3.6 in the Far West and dropped to 1.1 in the South.

In all four regions reports showed that from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent. of the books in the libraries were fiction. Thirteen reported from 75 per cent. to 100 per cent. as fiction. The region having the highest proportion in this class was the South. In the other three regions the majority of the libraries reported from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent. fiction.

FUNDS

The support of the libraries was found to come from public funds, private funds or a combination of both. In the Middle West, Far West and Middle Atlantic regions the largest number, thirty-five in all, were supported by both public and private funds; in the South all but three were privately supported. In the Middle West eleven of the eighteen institutions supported by public and private funds were Carnegie organizations, and in the Far West five of the nine were aided by the Carnegie funds.

Fees for the partial support of the libraries were collected in thirty-three of the seventy-nine villages. In eleven cases the fees were demanded of all borrowers, both village and open-country, but in twenty-two cases they were exacted only from those living

in the open country. In many of these cases, however, the fees were not demanded of school children, even though they lived outside the town. The system of collecting fees was found in each of the four regions.

Twelve of the seventy-nine libraries had an annual income of less than \$250; twenty-seven received between \$350 and \$1,000; twenty-three between \$1,000 and \$3,750, and seventeen made no income report.

COUNTY LIBRARY SYSTEM

The preceding paragraphs have made it clear that the village library, even where it exists, is far from having solved all of its problems. In an effort to improve the general situation twenty-nine states have passed laws enabling counties to organize county library systems. Two hundred counties in these states have thus far taken advantage of this legislation, and the movement is reported by the American Library Association to be growing rapidly. The county library has its headquarters in the county-seat town, but behind it stand the resources of the state library. Branch libraries and depositories are established in villages and hamlets throughout the county. The branch libraries have their own books but receive loan libraries from the county headquarters at stated intervals. The depositories, which are frequently in private homes or school buildings, handle only consignments of books loaned for a stated length of time, but any person can secure any book in the county or state library by application to the nearest branch of the system. Of the 79 libraries found in the 140 villages studied seven operated under the county library system.

Among the states studied in this investigation California has carried the county library system further than any other. Of the nine California villages studied, four have county libraries, three of which are housed in Carnegie buildings. One village has an independent town library at the county seat which gives county-wide borrowing and deposit privileges, and two have independent libraries with no county service, although one of them is in a county that has a library system.

Among the most appreciated services performed by the county library systems is the ability to supply almost any book desired.

In one California village 163 special requests were filled for borrowers and the county system sent 727 new books to the village library during the year. The system doubtless has its imperfections, as may be indicated by the fact that five of the nine California villages studied are not operating under the county library plan. Two criticisms were most frequently leveled against it. One came from the school men who had difficulty in including book funds in their budgets when a county tax had been levied for library purposes. The failure to obtain reference works when needed necessitated many changes in program and occasioned many delays in assigned collateral reading. The other criticism, that many of the women custodians of the depositories were entirely untrained, while valid, is less important because their hamlets would have received no service at all had it not been for the system.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISIONS

University Extension Divisions have in many states an important place in the educational systems of the smaller communities because of the supplementary material they supply. As an example, in the seven towns in Wisconsin included in this study, three types of service are extended by the division. The package library is one type and this includes, besides loan books, study material selected to meet specified needs. During one year 124 boxes were sent to these seven towns. Suggestion and guidance in the arrangement of programs and the study of particular problems through conference, are other types of information available.

Through formal instruction work of the Correspondence Study Department 407 students were enrolled from the seven towns during the years 1922-24, an increase of 277 over the enrollment of 1918-20. From these courses the entire community benefits indirectly.

WHAT PEOPLE READ

Magazines form a large part of reading material of villages. In house-to-house canvasses the question of favorite recreation was asked both in the village and in the country homes. Invariably reading was mentioned more times than any other form

of relaxation, though in country homes especially a dearth of books was evident.

In a survey of 741 households in an Illinois village, it was reported that 918 magazines were subscribed for, approximating one and one-fourth magazines per household. In a Wisconsin village 954 households were surveyed and subscriptions to 1,412 magazines were reported, an average of one and one-half magazines per household. The location of the two communities colored the kind of reading enjoyed. In the former, a typically rural community, the mail-order magazine appeared at the head of the list, with agricultural papers, women's magazines, religious, literary, humorous, illustrated periodicals following in order; in the latter, located near the State University and more urban in its thinking, women's magazines were most popular, followed by literary, illustrated, humorous periodicals. Agricultural, mail-order and religious publications appeared at the foot of the list.

Interesting results were obtained from questionnaires given to boys and girls in high schools regarding favorite books and authors. Zane Grey held first place among authors most read by boys, and Gene Stratton-Porter by the girls. Both boys and girls in three Middle Atlantic communities named history among the kinds of books they liked best. Stories of adventure were most popular among the boys; modern fiction among the girls.

In the high school in one middle-western village, located in the same county as the capital of the state and the state university, reading headed the list of favorite recreations of girls. The best modern fiction claimed first place on the lists of books most popular among senior girls, while among senior boys honors were divided between fiction and classics.

VILLAGE NEWSPAPERS

With the exception of nine small and four medium-size villages, all of the 140 villages have at least one newspaper. Three-fourths of the villages have one paper only, seventeen have two and one has three newspapers, all published weekly. Just one of the small villages, five of the medium and all of the large communities have two newspapers each. Where this is the case there is usually keen rivalry between papers, politically and otherwise. One large middle-western community has three papers—a county weekly owned by the farmers and two privately owned

local papers. The county paper was edited by a follower of the Johnson faction and had done much to stir up the farmers on both political and agricultural issues. In general, village newspapers were read by farmers and villagers alike, though in the local post office there were often more city papers and farm magazines in the farmers' boxes than there were village weeklies.

As a rule the plants where the weekly papers were printed were dingy, dusty, disorderly and neglected offices. Several editors were still laboring over hand-operated presses. An editor in one Wisconsin village had two college degrees, but for the most part the editors were not college graduates and, with one or two conspicuous exceptions, they were untrained in modern newspaper methods.

In nearly all the papers society notes were among the most conspicuous items in the reading columns. Church news and accounts of various meetings held a prominent place, while some papers gave space to sermons and Bible passages. In the progressive communities school news was also featured, items on athletics, standing of pupils and school organization activities being eagerly read by the community in general. Foreign news was often quoted. One outstanding factor in the general makeup of the village newspaper was its lack of ultra-sensational items. Only one in a Pennsylvania village was found to have more of outside sensational news than items of local community interest. In villages where trade competition was keenest there were often more advertisements by the various merchants than there were reading items.

Ayres's *American Newspaper Directory* (1925) reports the circulation of 109 of the newspapers included in this study. The range of circulation is from 240 in a medium-size village of the Middle West to 4,578 in a small village of the Middle Atlantic area. The total circulation is 142,816, or an average of 1,310 per paper. In small villages the average circulation is a little higher than this total average, 1,333. In medium-size villages it falls to 1,079, while in the larger villages the average circulation reaches 1,619.

THE MOVIES

The motion-picture theater has become one of the most popular institutions of the American village and is patronized by village

and country and by young and old. Only twenty villages had no motion-picture house, five had two and one large village had three theaters where movies were shown. The buildings used were of all sorts, from the barnlike structure with wooden benches and unpainted walls to the elaborately equipped theater with plush seats and velvet drop curtains. One pioneer village in the Far West had as fine a theater as many a large city possesses. A small number of these theaters had stages available for plays, with dressing-rooms and scenery. Very often the moving-picture theater provided the only auditorium in the community.

The type of picture shown varied not so much with the type of theater and equipment as with the degree of support given by leading citizens and the kind of manager in charge. Usually, of course, the manager was interested in his theater solely as a commercial enterprise, and his aim was to show films that paid regardless of the stories they told. There were exceptions like that of the theater in a Texas village where the moving-picture manager and his wife were both college graduates and interested in moving-picture production from an educational standpoint. Here emphasis was placed upon special pictures for school children and frequently school authorities were consulted in the matter of pictures shown. Free passes were offered as prizes to pupils writing the best character analysis of the actors of such pictures as Silas Marner.

The manager of the theater in one Wisconsin village recognized the distinction between village and open country by putting on action films in the summer when the country audiences were large and society films for the winter attendants who were largely villagers.

Several villages have taken seriously the censoring of films. In a few communities women's clubs had committees appointed for this purpose, but in no case was the church found sufficiently interested to help in the choice of pictures, though in the Institute's study of forty successful town and country churches, both church and community were found to be active influences in the selection of moving-pictures.

In all four areas the Wild West picture was hailed with most enthusiasm. As soon as the news reel was finished and the first captions appeared announcing "The Murder of Bloody Gulch" or some such title, there was loud applause.

Operators often told the field workers that they could not afford to show the better class of pictures because they lost so much on them that it took days to make up for it. They also complained that the influential people criticized the poor class of pictures, but failed to patronize the good ones when they were shown. Hence, the operators said, they were obliged to cater to the less influential persons who could always be counted on for their support. To complaints of this kind some of the influential people in villages replied that when good pictures were advertised they had attended, but that invariably on such occasions the good picture had been followed by one so inferior that the whole evening had been spoiled, and that on this account they did not choose to repeat the experience.

In general, the moving-picture theater in villages is well supported by country people. On Saturdays the village street is lined with cars from the country, whose owners attend the picture show after their trading is completed. Managers in the middle-western villages, especially, reported, however, a noticeable change in their picture attendance during the last five years. During the boom the houses were usually crowded. When the bubble burst the country attendance dropped considerably. One manager said he had lost more than one-third of his average attendance since the depression, for many of the farm boys and girls found it difficult to secure the price of the moving-picture tickets.

Along with the development of the commercial moving-picture there has been an increase in motion-pictures and stereopticons in educational and non-theatrical use. In Wisconsin the Visual Instruction Bureau of the State University was organized because of the demand from this source for photoplays. This Bureau inspects the best products from all sources and recommends lists. Within the years 1921-23 more than 8,000 meetings were held at which slides and films from the Bureau were used. Some of the high schools own moving-picture equipment and educational films are shown as part of the regular school work. The village church, on the other hand, was found as a rule opposed to the use of the moving-picture machine, though in the study of successful churches, already referred to, such equipment was generally considered a necessity for the carrying out of the various young people's programs.

CHAPTER VIII

PUBLIC HEALTH IN VILLAGES

THERE was no well-integrated plan for caring for public health in the villages studied. Public health was found to be the concern of several governmental agencies and of different types of unofficial, voluntary organizations which in no sense bore the well-defined relation to the governmental agencies that a Parent-Teachers Association, for instance, bears to a school.

It was surmised at the start that little authoritative information would be found available on the question of public health in villages, and this surmise unfortunately proved true. Crude birth-rates and death-rates were known to be distorted by the increasing use of urban hospitals by villagers. Corrected or refined rates were not available. The registration of vital statistics is not on a comparable basis in all the states in which the sample of villages lay. The methods and the accuracy of reporting contagious diseases also varied. There was a general feeling on the part of many consulted that because of these and other handicaps an investigation of the field of public health might not yield returns commensurate with the labor involved. Nevertheless, by combining some research with what data were procured from the field survey, a considerable body of information was assembled. Even such results as were negative in character are not without significance since they indicate the attitude of communities regarding public health.

VILLAGE PHYSICIANS

For more than a decade the American Medical Association, on the one hand, and the agricultural press speaking for hundreds of rural communities, on the other, have been calling attention to the exodus of physicians from the rural districts. The extent of this movement of physicians away from the rural communities was shown in a survey by Lewis Mayers and Leonard V. Harrison for the General Education Board and published

under the title *The Distribution of Physicians in the United States*.

In 1906, while there were more physicians in cities of more than 100,000 population in proportion to the population than elsewhere, the distribution among other types of communities was fairly constant except for places of less than 1,000 population. In 1923, the year of the survey, the number of physicians in proportion to population dropped in every type of community except for cities of 50,000 to 100,000 and of over 100,000. The relative decline in places of from 1,000 to 2,500 inhabitants was 26.5 per cent. and in the communities of less than 1,000 there was a further decline of 10 per cent.

This situation is the more serious when it is remembered that physicians in villages serve the surrounding countryside. Practically no physicians were found living outside the village limits in the 140 communities. Just what this means in terms of the actual number of physicians to a given unit of population has been shown in Dr. Fry's *American Villagers*,¹ the volume of this study that analyzes and interprets the census data for the villages.

Briefly summarized, that study showed that in every region cities have from one-third more to nearly twice as many doctors as village communities. Moreover, as was shown in Chapter II, the service area of physicians is frequently considerably larger than the community area of the village and would therefore include more people than are found within the community.²

In addition, the field investigation revealed that the exodus of physicians, so far as these villages are concerned, has not ceased. In 10 per cent. of the villages studied some physician had either just left or had announced his intention of leaving. In most cases it was the "best" man who was going. In other villages the resident physicians were elderly men, some of whom had graduated from medical colleges no longer in existence; and in a few cases the chiropractor was left in entire possession of the field.³

¹ Pp. 120 ff.

² The situation is no better when dentists and nurses are considered. Village communities have far fewer in proportion to their population than medium-size cities. In fact, twenty-three villages have no dentists and one-half lack nurses.

³ It would be very valuable to know all the facts about this situation; and, so far as the Census records are concerned, it would be neither difficult nor costly for some organization such as the American Medical Association to secure the data. The

In an attempt to meet the problem of providing adequate medical service to rural communities a few states have passed laws permitting so-called health districts to employ a physician on salary.

No villages were found in which any attempt had been made to do this although in a small Minnesota village, near one of the communities studied, when their only doctor left, the people formed a health association and were employing a high-grade physician, who, in addition to his usual duties, was carrying through a thoroughgoing public health program.

It was only the emergency of having no doctor nearer than ten miles which drove the village to this step. In most of the villages studied such a step would probably not now be possible. In them the preventive side of medicine is cared for by public health activities of various sorts.

A MODEL PROGRAM

What public health work in villages can mean may perhaps best be illustrated by the concrete case of a village in California. This village does not trust good intentions, instinct, chance, or even to its well-advertised climate to insure its health. It co-operates with other communities in the county in the maintenance of a county health unit, which at the time of the survey was also subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation. The county unit employs a health officer, a sanitary inspector, a nurse and a bacteriologist, all under the direction of a physician. Proper quarantine of contagious disease is assured. The services of the bacteriologist are available to the physicians of the entire county. The staff devotes itself to unceasing warfare on disease, actual and potential. In the year prior to the survey it conducted a baby clinic in the village and in other centers in the county. The year following the program stressed inoculation against typhoid, smallpox and diphtheria, and there have been clinics for the child just under school age. Medical inspection of school children and

total number of physicians by states is known, as is the number of physicians in cities. If the number of physicians in villages was tabulated and the total subtracted from the total for cities, the difference would be the number of physicians in the open country and in unincorporated places. Interesting interpretations could be made from this data on the basis of the excellent records of the *American Medical Association* about its own membership.

education of the community in public and personal hygiene are regular parts of each year's work.

The village is not content with the part-time service of the county health unit. It has a local board of health and the health officer is a physician. Its school district employs a full-time nurse, who not only handles the follow-up work on clinics held by the county unit but herself undertakes a significant local program. The follow-up work, allowing for instruction in the home, is felt by the nurse to be the most effective. In addition to the annual health examination of all pupils, each one is weighed monthly. The nurse gives courses to the junior and senior high-school girls on nursing, sex life and scientific motherhood. A community class in home nursing was attended in the year previous to the survey by one hundred women. The nurse has an office in one of the school buildings which is equipped with two beds for emergencies, dental apparatus and first aid materials. The school district is large, but the nurse serves town and country, native-, and foreign-born alike, her car carrying her 2,500 miles a month.

One of the significant things about public health work in this village is that all the various groups that were found working on the problem in the 140 villages were present here, but each had found its function and all were working together. The county placed certain important services at the command of the village, some of which the school nurse used and some of which made the normal work of the board of health and its officer more efficient. Local volunteer groups such as the Parent-Teachers Association and, to a less extent, the Red Cross, fitted into the program by popularizing the work or meeting emergency needs, while at the same time they profited by it.

In short this village has a public health program which more nearly approximates what public health leaders consider necessary than that of any other village surveyed. It has accepted the modern conception of public health as including both hygiene and sanitation. The latter deals with the causes and sources of those diseases that come from environment. The former deals with the individual and concerns itself with measures that will promote health and prevent disease. Twenty years ago the emphasis was almost entirely on the environmental side. Today it

is known that infectious diseases are caused by germs and that their source is man himself.⁴

IN THE 140 VILLAGES

In contrast with the model public health program happily found in one of the villages included in the study must be set the somewhat meager results, so far as data on public health are concerned, obtained from the rest of the 140 villages. These results concern the expenditures for public health, the functions of the board of health and of health officers, the public health activities of the school, the place of clinics, hospitals, volunteer or private agencies, and the relation of the county and state to the village.

FINANCING PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

An outstanding fact is the complete lack of concern about public health that is manifested by the governments of these villages. In fewer than two-fifths of them is there a separate heading for health in the village budget. This statement applies especially to the South and Middle West and least to the Far West. The usual practice is to include the negligible expenses for health under the head of "incidentals" or "all other expenses." Even in the case of the fifty-five communities that itemize their health expenses separately, only nine spent more than \$500 and of these, three were in counties in which public health demonstrations were being carried on. This dearth of funds for health work was frequently explained by interested leaders in the villages as due almost entirely to the present scale of values in the appropriation of public funds. The difficulty in securing funds, they pointed out, is due to the lack of realization that human ills can be prevented by the aid of science, and this lack can only be remedied by intelligent leadership and public education.

There seems to be no relation between the size of the village and the amount of money that it expends on health. Some of the largest villages failed to appropriate even as much per capita as the medium-size or small communities, and they failed to itemize health expenditures almost as often. Nor was any sig-

⁴ Cf. Herbert W. Hill, *The New Public Health*, especially Chapters I and II.

nificant difference found between the general type of health service offered by the large village and by the smaller centers. The probable explanation of these facts is, first, that much of the health program is determined by county and state laws or by services that the small place has as good a chance to secure as the large, and, secondly, that much of the remainder of the health work is inspired by enlightened individuals, often members of the school faculty, and apparently the small community is just as likely to have such leadership as the one that is slightly larger.

When dealing with finance, especially in its relation to program, it must be borne in mind that usually more than one governmental agency is concerned in health expenditures. The traditional service has been that maintained by the village government—to quarantine and fumigate houses, bury dead animals, and keep vital statistics. The newer service concerns itself with the health inspection of school children, with clinics and other manifestations of the growing demand for public health measures. Frequently such endeavors are financed by the local school district, by some volunteer organization like the Red Cross or Parent-Teachers Association, by a combination of a public with a private agency, or sometimes by direct aid from the state. For this reason no attempt has been made to estimate the total health expenditures of the villages studied or to rate them according to such expenditures.

BOARDS OF HEALTH AND HEALTH OFFICERS

Even in such a matter as the presence or absence of a board of health as a part of the governmental machinery there is no uniform practice. In only two of the twenty-eight states in which the villages studied were located were all the villages found to have such boards, despite the fact that it is mandatory in thirteen states. The effect of this legislation is to be seen in the following figures. In these thirteen states 62.2 per cent. of the villages have obeyed the law. In the states where the creation of a board of health is not mandatory such boards are to be found in only 27.7 per cent. of the villages studied. Where boards are not organized, the town council sometimes acts as a board of health, and in a number of villages the mayor is also

the health officer. Of specially elected health officers there are none in nearly half the villages, although thirteen of these have the services of a county health officer. The Far West leads the other regions in the proportion of villages having health officers, with the Middle West a poor second. Of the local health officers twenty-nine out of eighty are physicians. Nineteen of these are in the Far West. In California, state law compels any incorporated place to have a physician as health officer. The facts in regard to boards of health and health officers are detailed in Table LXXVI.

The service of the county to local communities has been mentioned. County boards of health are decreed in seventeen of the twenty-eight states in which the sample of villages lies. Obviously some of these states require both county and local boards. The theory behind the county board appears to be fundamentally sound. Local persons whose obligations to the health work of a community are an unimportant side issue cannot be expected to safeguard public health with any degree of efficiency or success. Even doctors employed as local health officers are admittedly cautious in the exercise of the duties of their office lest they offend possible patients. In a number of the villages studied epidemics could be traced directly to the neglect or the inefficiency, due to lack of knowledge, of the local officials in the performance of their duty. And yet, as one of the number said: "I get \$8 a day on my job and only \$200 a year as health officer. I can't afford to take time off to tack up cards."

The county official, on the other hand, is frequently paid to give his full time to the work. Physicians and others interviewed seemed to feel that he discharged his duties more efficiently and impartially than a local man.

SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

Half the villages studied have the services of public health nurses of one kind or another. The duties of the public health nurse include a limited amount of nursing care under doctor's orders or instruction in health measures and disease prevention. She is supposed to instruct, demonstrate and supervise in home, school and industry, in the clinic and health center and through classes, clubs or other form of public meeting.

Except for a few nurses employed in anti-tuberculosis work, practically all of the public health nurses found in these villages are connected with the school system, and with few exceptions these nurses operate as members of a county unit and do not give their full time to the local community. Within the two years prior to this study such nursing service had been discontinued in twenty-three communities which previously had it. This represents a falling off of practically 25 per cent. in the period mentioned. More than two-thirds of this loss occurred in the middle- and far-western regions. Two reasons were given locally for discontinuing the work. In about one-third of the villages the nurse had not been satisfactory, usually because her work was relatively poor and inefficient. Too many inadequately trained nurses were employed as a result of the demand from the field which came largely from Red Cross chapters. In most of the other instances the agricultural depression was blamed, although in one county, in which the work was dropped after two years of success, the county commissioners voted \$40,000 toward the eradication of tuberculosis in cattle—more than ten times the budget of the county nurse. Occasionally both causes were operative.

It is significant that where there is some sort of public health nursing service, especially when connected with the school, there other features of a modern health program seem more apt to flourish; in particular, regular health examination of school children and the organization or securing of clinics of various sorts.

It is also clear from an analysis of the public health experience of these villages that the work succeeds better when backed by an organized group of interested persons representing the different groups and interests within the community, both public and private.⁵

Of the states in which the 140 villages are situated, nine make the regular health examination of school children obligatory, nine have passed permissive legislation, two have provided for such examination only under special conditions, and eight have no laws upon the subject at all. Apparently permissive legislation has no effect upon the situation. Indeed, a slightly smaller pro-

⁵ The advantage and functions of such an organization are given in detail in the March, 1925, issue of *The Public Health Nurse*, p. 158.

portion of the villages located in states with such a law had health inspection than of those in states that had no statute. Of the villages required to have such examinations 84.3 per cent. obeyed the law. In the other states 35.8 per cent. of villages

TABLE LXXVI—FACILITIES FOR PUBLIC HEALTH

<i>Facilities</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>				
	<i>All Regions</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Far West</i>
Total	140	28	30	60	22
Board of health only	18	2	4	12	..
Health officer only	14	1	2	9	2
Public nurse only	4	..	2	2	..
Clinic only	3	..	2	..	1
Board of health; clinic	9	2	1	6	..
Board of health; public nurse	10	6	..	4	..
Board of health; clinic	4	2	1	1	..
Board of health; hospital	1	..	..	1	..
Health officer; public nurse	16	..	3	9	4
Health officer; clinic	9	2	4	1	2
Health officer; hospital	4	..	..	3	1
Public nurse; clinic	3	..	3	..	..
Public nurse; hospital	1	..	1	..	..
Board of health; health officer; public nurse	2	1	..	1	..
Board of health; health officer; clinic	2	1	..	1	..
Board of health; health officer; hospital	3	..	..	..	3
Board of health; public nurse; clinic	7	5	1	1	..
Health officer; public nurse; clinic ..	10	..	3	5	2
Health officer; public nurse; hospital ..	1	1	..	..	..
Health officer; clinic; hospital	1	..	..	..	1
Board of health; public nurse; clinic; hospital	1	1	..	..	..
Board of health; health officer; public nurse; clinic	5	3	..	..	2
Board of health; health officer; clinic; hospital	1	..	..	..	1
Health officer; public nurse; clinic; hospital	2	..	1	1	..
Board of health; health officer; public nurse; clinic; hospital	4	..	..	2	2
None	5	1	2	1	1

studied had health examinations. All told, 55.9 per cent. offered this service to their pupils.

There were clinics in about two villages out of five. The Far West led in this respect, but the southern and Middle Atlantic states were considerably ahead of the Middle West. Several villages availed themselves of more than one clinic, but this

largely depended upon the facilities offered by the county or, more generally, the state.

Clinics played a far more important part than hospitals in the public health work of these villages. Hospitals were not only few in number but they were, with one exception, under private control, having fewer than a dozen beds and being designed largely for obstetrical or emergency cases.

EPIDEMICS

If figures relative to epidemics do not reveal a very satisfactory situation, they emphasize the familiar truth that in public health, especially in its rural aspects, our practice is far behind our knowledge. Smallpox, typhoid fever, diphtheria and scarlet fever are now absolutely or largely preventable if the proper measures are taken, and yet within the last half decade there has been at least one epidemic of smallpox per region and a number of epidemics of each of the other diseases. The necessary tests are not made, the necessary vaccinations not administered. Even quarantine, a public health measure as old as the Mosaic Law, is on anything but a scientific basis, and in the average village is probably not as well administered as it was among the Children of Israel in the early days of their national history.

It was frequently charged by physicians and other candid leaders that the village health officer seemed to look upon his job as an opportunity for a little soft money, handed him often by the local political organization in return for services rendered. Certain it is that he has usually little or no training for his duties and he is apt to look upon the regulations of the state as a nuisance. Of their value he is as unconvinced as the most conservative of his neighbors. His aim is to do as little as he can and still draw the wage allowed.

The tragic effect of this system is clearly to be seen in a number of the communities studied. In one a retired farmer was employed as health officer. He supplanted a doctor who had been too progressive for the people. Soon after the change an epidemic of scarlet fever broke out. The health officer became panic-stricken. He paced the streets asking advice from every one but following none of it. Finally the situation became so serious that local citizens appealed to the state board of health,

which took charge of the situation, closed churches and schools and eventually stamped out the epidemic. The community lost thousands of dollars through the illness of many and the death of some, as well as through the lost time of school children. Quite different was the experience of another village in which the health officer was a physician. Several cases of scarlet fever were reported. Immediately the community was informed and warned. The school board employed a nurse to inspect the children each morning and send home those who showed any suspicious symptoms. Quarantine was rigidly enforced. While the outbreak consisted of a number of cases these methods were effective in conquering what had threatened to be a serious epidemic. The incident taught the community the value of public health work, and with a bit of propaganda and the coöperation of the local Red Cross chapter a public health nurse was secured whose work has been very successful and shows every indication of continuing.

An epidemic is not always necessary to secure a sound public health program. In a Wisconsin village it was brought about through the Mothers' Club, whose primary object was child welfare. It organized thoroughly with a chairman for every block in the town. These chairmen brought the meetings to the attention of their constituents. A class was held every week, the studies including child welfare, feeding and care of infants, child mortality, etc. The club coöperated in securing a school nurse and the members worked with her in several particulars, including the maintenance of a school lunch. Much latent leadership has been released as a result of this effort. Two interesting features of this community are that the health budget is one of the highest found, and that the Girl Scouts work with the Mothers' Club and can be called upon to care for children in the homes.

ADAPTING PUBLIC HEALTH KNOWLEDGE TO RURAL CONDITIONS

In general the study of the 140 villages led to the conclusion that the knowledge of what public health programs can do for the individual and the community has not yet been humanized sufficiently for the man on Main Street to understand or care about it. When ministers will tacitly oppose public health meas-

ures because "sickness is sent of God" and because "illness is a tool to bring the unruly spirit to God," as two of them declared to field workers, the need for further education cannot be gainsaid. When more than two communities out of five neglect what public health authorities and most urban school systems consider such elementary things as the weighing and measuring of children, the listing of defects and the building up of sound health habits, it is patent that much progress has still to be made.

Such efforts as have been made to set up public health programs in rural areas have been, for the most part, sporadic and haphazard. In this community there is health inspection of school children by a school nurse; in the next the same end is secured by a Red Cross nurse. In one community there is a dental clinic; in the next, one for expectant mothers; and in another, one for children of pre-school age. In only four or five villages were all the legitimate health interests of the community met by any coördinated effort. Occasionally attempts have been made to apply literally to rural conditions the successful city plan, with failure and discouragement as almost inevitable results. Any plan for rural health service must be based upon a knowledge of all elements of rural life. Fortunately, a number of agencies have been pioneering in this field. The International Health Board, U. S. Public Health Service, and many state departments of health, by means of county health units; the American Red Cross, through its public health nursing service; and the child health demonstration program of the Commonwealth Fund, have been approaching the problem of rural health service from different angles. In several of the villages studied one or another of these agencies was found to be at work. Out of the experiments of these organizations a technique of health service adapted to the needs of rural life is gradually developing.

THE PART OF STATE AND COUNTY

The contribution that county or state can make to the solution of local problems of public health depends largely upon the state statutes and on public opinion within the county. The twenty-eight states in which communities of this study are located offer services of great diversity. Most of them have a division of sanitation to supervise and analyze water and milk

supplies. One-half have a division of education which issues material to the papers, supplies lecturers to local communities, sends out films or lantern-slide lectures and gives radio talks. All but six of the twenty-eight have a division of child hygiene and four out of seven have one on public health nursing. Almost all have accepted the provisions of the Shepherd-Towner maternity aid bill. One-half offer laboratory facilities either to local doctors or to communities. Others content themselves with making it mandatory for every community of over 1,500 population to conduct tests calling for laboratory equipment which no community of that size could afford. Twenty-two distribute serums at cost or in certain instances free of charge. In more progressive states this distribution covers a considerable number of items. In some it is simply confined to diphtheria antitoxin. Two-thirds have traveling clinics of one kind or another. Child hygiene and tuberculosis seem to be the most popular type, though dental and venereal disease clinics appear frequently in the lists.

The difficulty is that local communities are not sufficiently informed about these services and state health departments have no funds or personnel to carry on the sort of educational campaign that would stimulate demand from small communities all over their states. Certain it is that these much needed services do not reach the village communities as they might, and sometimes when offered they are not successful because of lack of preparation. If in the training courses for rural teachers, ministers, physicians and potential lay leaders, there could be some instruction in the health resources and facilities available for rural communities, the situation might be materially improved. On the other hand, so far as clinics go, state auspices seem to succeed better than any other. In those states offering such service, 48.1 per cent. of the villages studied had had at least one. In the other states only 14.7 per cent. had clinics of any sort.

The study of the experiences of these villages indicates that the best results were obtained when state and county health boards were coöperating. This would seem to be another point in favor of the county health board. More closely in touch with the local community than the state, more closely in touch with the state than the local community can be, and more easily supervised by the state, a county health board with a proper staff can

render very effective service. It can coördinate the various health efforts of the local community and give them all standing in the eyes of the local doctors—something that is greatly needed, since too many village doctors are opposed to public health activities. Efforts attested by county and state are more likely to win acceptance, because, as one village doctor remarked, “the average rural physician is a very busy man, accustomed to meeting difficult situations with solutions of his own contriving. He is anxious to give his patients the best possible service and when assistance is offered by volunteer agencies he naturally desires to be quite sure that the service offered will be of practical benefit.”

THE COUNTY HEALTH UNIT

A few of the villages included in this study are located in counties in which the experiment of county administration of health has been tried. One has already been cited as an example. All told, there are some 300 county health units in the United States. The duties of the county health officer appear to be: (1) to educate the people of his area in the principles of public health; (2) to put on demonstrations of sanitation; (3) to insure to every community a supply of pure water and milk; (4) to superintend the medical inspection of school children; (5) to organize maternity or infant welfare centers or clinics, and to create facilities for the suitable care of tuberculosis, venereal diseases and other menaces, and for the correction of defects found in children. Public health authorities believe that to perform such service adequately the health officer needs the assistance of a sanitary inspector, a public health nurse and an office assistant.

In a rural county, just to the north of a county in which one of the villages studied was located, the results of a scheme such as this have recently been studied. The population is 50,000 and the death-rate for the five years prior to the inauguration of the county health service averaged nineteen per 1,000 inhabitants. The service has now been in operation five years, and in the last three of these the death-rate has been twelve to the 1,000. In other words, in a population that has remained constant, there have been 350 fewer deaths a year than formerly; which means that on the generally accepted basis of ten cases of serious illness

to each death, there have been about 3,500 fewer cases of serious illness. The budget of the county health service is \$14,000 a year and the saving in the cost of these illnesses alone, not counting the economic value of a human life, has been well over \$300,000. This may be the eventual answer to the question as to whether a county can support such a service. If the population and area are not too small such a service can pay for itself just as Professor Gillette has demonstrated that good roads have paid for themselves.

The exposition of the duties of the county health officer is in itself a demonstration of how he could meet the problems which are now outstanding in the field of public health in many villages. Many people living in the average village have come from the farm. Farm sanitation is too frequently not of the best, but the lack of anything approaching congestion in the open country removes some of the dangers. In the village it is different. German villagers may take pride in the size of the manure pile in their front-yard, but the cold fact is that such a pile breeds flies and flies carry typhoid. In these and many other ways problems of sanitation arise in the village that grow out of its rural environment. This problem and those of milk and food inspection and the strict enforcement of quarantine could be solved on a county basis when for any individual village to attempt to solve them alone would probably mean economic suicide. The farmers in its contiguous territory would turn against it unitedly and take their business elsewhere. This phase of the local problem must not be forgotten in taking count of the lacks which are found in the health program of the average village.

There is one particularly hopeful sign in the whole situation. Much of the money being spent today in public health work, especially by such agencies as the International Health Board (whose activities have helped four of the villages studied) and by the states is being spent in the rural sections. Cities have long had the necessary machinery to protect themselves and do not need such assistance. Now rural America, from its village centers, will have its chance for better health.⁶

⁶ In connection with this chapter attention is called to Farmers Bulletin 1485 of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, entitled *Rural Hospitals* and written by Wayne C. Nason. The bulletin contains valuable information on the general health situation and also discusses all aspects of the subject of rural hospitals.

CHAPTER IX

THE VILLAGE AS A BODY POLITIC

AN exhaustive examination of the governments of the 140 villages, involving, as it would, a study of the constitutions and laws of twenty-eight states and of the interrelationships of state, county and village, was obviously not within the scope of this inquiry. All that is attempted, therefore, in this chapter is to take a glance at certain aspects of the village in its functioning as a body politic that seem to bear most intimately upon the lives of villagers. There was quite astonishing unanimity of opinion among the field workers, as a result of interviews, that, by and large, government to most villagers means public improvements and the expenditures upon them. Approaching the subject, therefore, from that angle, this chapter will begin with brief discussions of the villager's attitude toward his local government and of the village itself as a unit of government, and will then present in some detail a comparison of the taxes, debts and expenditures of villages with those of larger municipalities.

VILLAGE POLITICS

In an attempt to discover the forces at work in village politics the following question was put to representative citizens in the 140 villages: "Is the line-up for elections determined by political issues? If not, explain the factors at work." The replies elicited by this query, shown in Table LXXVII, include data for both school and municipal elections. Village politicians responded heartily to this question and as a result the investigators obtained a large amount of explanatory and illustrative material. The question was answered in one of two different ways, either (1) by a statement of the general bases of cleavage on all local issues, or (2) by a statement of the specific issue which was paramount at the past election.

Village factions of today often represent divisions of opinion on issues long since dead. A diversion of interests developed in the past may create an alignment which continues to operate on

problems of the present entirely divorced from the original question. An excellent illustration of this tendency is furnished by the "Free Rangers" in a North Carolina community. The political influence of this group still expresses itself in opposition to school consolidation or in support of a county farm agent,

TABLE LXXVII—NATURE OF FACTIONS OR ISSUES DIVIDING MUNICIPALITIES AT LOCAL ELECTIONS *

<i>Faction or Issue</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>			
	<i>All Regions</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Far-West</i>
Factions	71	22	39	10
National parties	31	11	15	5
Family groups	13	8	5	..
Ku Klux Klan	11	..	6	5
Retired farmers	6	..	6	..
Bank faction	3	..	3	..
Church and bank factions	1	..	1	..
Free Rangers	1	1	..	..
Local factions not specified	5	2	3	..
Issues	37	8	18	11
Personalities	18	4	13	1
Sunday observance	1	..	..	1
Pool room license	1	..	..	1
Prohibition enforcement	1	..	..	1
Prohibition and improvements	8	..	1	7
Keeping down taxes	1	1	..	..
Progressivism vs. conservatism	2	2	..	..
Local issues not specified	4	..	4	..
No local issues	1	1	..	..

* No information was obtained for four villages in the three regions where this question was asked.

although the stock law controversy from which the name was derived long ago ceased to be an issue.

Although the names of national political parties are applied freely to local groups, state and national policies are usually remote from the administration of village governments. The questions on which these alleged national partisans divide at any particular election are local issues such as the flotation of paving or water-plant bonds. The situation in the spring-wheat area at the time of the survey, however, illustrates the activities of a national movement in local politics. The difference of opinion over the Non-Partisan League became so strong in some of these communities as to be dominant in local issues and to deflect some farm patronage from local stores to mail-order houses on the assumption by the farmer that merchants were opposed to the League.

The Ku Klux Klan was found to be politically powerful in many communities of the Middle West and the Far West. Evidence of its activities was present in many villages where it was not reported to be one of the factors determining local elections; consequently Table LXXVII does not afford an adequate measure of its strength. The activities of the Klan consisted largely of seeing to it that the successful candidates in local elections come within its specifications of racial superiority. In some communities more concrete issues, such as enforcement of prohibition legislation, were espoused.

Villagers seem quite prone to emphasize the solidarity and peculiarities of the retired farmers in their midst. It is tacitly assumed that retired farmers have one outstanding objective, to keep down expenses; and a certain amount of evidence is presented in these 140 communities to substantiate this view: "If you want to kill a community just fill it with retired farmers," was the remark heard in a Pennsylvania village where a proposal for electric street lights had just been defeated. Nevertheless, these farmers, who are so freely criticized, constitute the leisure group in the village, with time to discuss questions of public policy, and to form opinions upon them. They hold positions of influence in the community and are often well represented in local government.

The two most frequent issues at local elections, apart from the personal following of the candidate, are, "Shall we spend money for this proposed improvement?" and "Can we elect officers who will enforce the law?" This situation is indicated in Table LXXVII. It was illustrated in a house-to-house survey made in an Illinois village, each householder of which was asked to make a suggestion as to the greatest need of the village. More than half of the suggestions, 122 out of 220, relied upon the local government for their realization, eighty for public improvements and forty-two for better enforcement of the law.

THE VILLAGE AS A UNIT OF GOVERNMENT

By their articles of incorporation, all of the 140 places included in this study are autonomous units.¹ They have power

¹ Not all of the 140 places are incorporated as villages. Forty-nine were incorporated as cities; forty-seven as towns, twenty-nine as villages and fifteen as boroughs. The terms of their incorporation do not, of course, affect their sociological status as villages.

to levy taxes, to pass local legislation and to administer their own laws. Other minor civil divisions have been created in different states for various purposes, and these may share with the corporation in certain responsibilities. A digest of the minor civil divisions which levied a general property tax in 1922 is given in the United States Census report on "*Assessed Valuation and Tax Levies*" as a part of the *Wealth, Public Debt, and Taxation: 1922* series. The extremes of state variation in this matter are illustrated by Rhode Island and California. In the former state only incorporated places levied taxes, while in California the following civil divisions reported a tax levy: counties, incorporated places, school districts, drainage districts, irrigation districts, levee districts, road districts, library districts, lighting districts, fire districts, forest fire districts, fire protection districts, fire and fire protection districts, mosquito abatement districts, sanitary districts, water districts, cemetery districts, junior college districts, sewer districts and promotion districts.

School administration is as a rule entirely distinct from village government. The school district, the unit for school administration, may or may not be coterminous with the incorporated area. Even if it is the same as the incorporated area the two functions are kept entirely distinct and are administered by two separate sets of officials.²

Although the extent of county participation in local government varies from state to state, certain definite activities of the municipality can be set forth which apply quite generally. The following list, for instance, shows the categories into which the expenditures of New York villages fall:

- General government
- Protection of persons and property
- Conservation of health
- Sanitation and promotion of cleanliness
- Education
- Recreation
- Permanent improvements
- Highways
- Public utilities—non-commercial
- Deficit on commercial public utilities
- Interest and current financial expenses
- Miscellaneous—cemeteries and all other

² In the last section of this chapter it will be seen that in certain larger municipalities the expenses of school administration are borne by the general municipal government. See also Chapter V for further discussion of the village public school.

General government, here as in other states, includes election of municipal officials, maintenance of quarters for council meetings, passing and enforcing local ordinances. Protection of persons and property is usually secured through the services of a night watchman and a volunteer fire department. Health protection is frequently considered a part of sanitation and cleanliness, involving quarantine, food inspection, medical inspection of school children, street cleaning, garbage collection and oversight of sewers. The expenditures of village governments for education are limited to the support of the public library, the expenses of the local schools being met through an entirely separate budget administered by the board of education. Permanent improvements, which, as has been seen, are commonly regarded by villagers as the most important activity of government, may include the construction of any number of utilities such as highways, streets, libraries, parks, water plant, lighting plant, docks, public markets and cemeteries. The maintenance of each of these improvements, after it has been built, usually constitutes a separate function of government, i.e., a street commissioner is put in charge of the streets, a park commissioner is made responsible for parks and certain recreation such as band concerts, and water and light commissioners are elected or appointed.

FINANCIAL COMPARISONS

THE RESOURCES OF SMALL AND LARGE MUNICIPALITIES

A consideration of the resources of small municipalities in relation to those of larger places is made possible through the publication by the United States Bureau of the Census of a series of pamphlets under the general title *Wealth, Public Debt and Taxation: 1922*. These reports show the amount of taxes collected and the public debt outstanding for each municipality with a population of 2,500 or more and a total figure for places of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants. In addition to these published data the Institute obtained access to the unpublished census returns for the sample municipalities.³ It is thus possible to compare the incorporated places analyzed in the village study with

³ Only 136 of the 140 villages are included, since four had populations of 2,500 or more in 1920.

other municipalities of their own size, as well as to contrast this entire group with larger towns and cities with respect to taxes and public debts in 1922. It should be noted in this connection, however, that the sample villages represent places ranging from 250 to 2,500 in population, while the census classification of places under 2,500 includes places with fewer than 250 inhabitants.

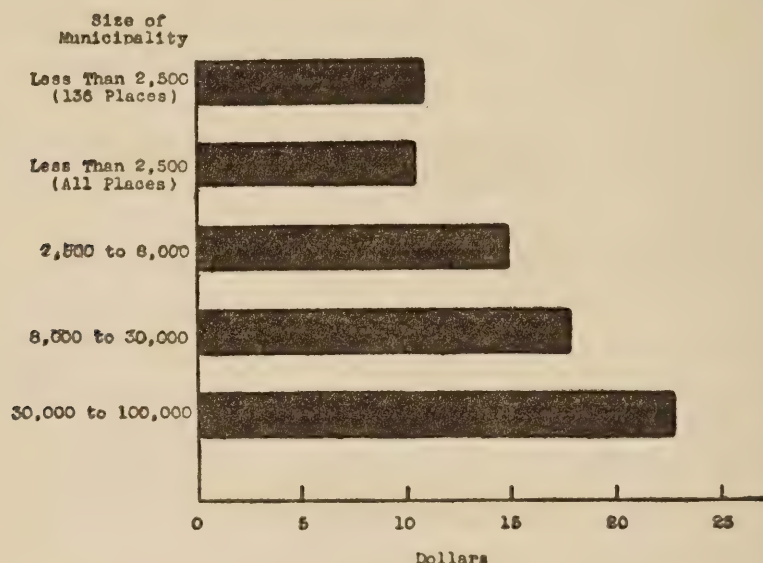


CHART VIII

Per Capita Taxes Collected in 1922 by All
Municipalities in the United States
of Less Than 100,000 Population

Table 29, Appendix D, sets forth the total per capita tax collected in 1922 by all municipalities of fewer than 100,000 inhabitants, classified by size in 1920. This total per capita tax figure, obtained by dividing the amount collected by the number of people within the corporation limits, includes the general property tax and poll taxes, licenses and permits, as well as special assessments. The municipalities for which the per capita figures have been computed are divided into four size-groups: (1) all places of less than 2,500 population, (2) all places of 2,500 to 8,000, (3) all places of 8,000 to 30,000, and (4) all places of 30,000 to 100,000. The selected villages have been entered separately as well as being included in the total number of places of less than 2,500 population. This size-grouping is

maintained throughout this section. Chart VIII presents graphically the essential facts of the situation.

For all incorporated places in the United States of fewer than 100,000 inhabitants there is a steady and continuous increase, corresponding to gain in population, in the amount of taxes collected per capita. The total per capita tax collected in 1922 by places of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants, namely, \$10.41, is less than half the amount collected by cities ranging from 30,000 to 100,000 population, namely, \$22.69. The difference is greatest

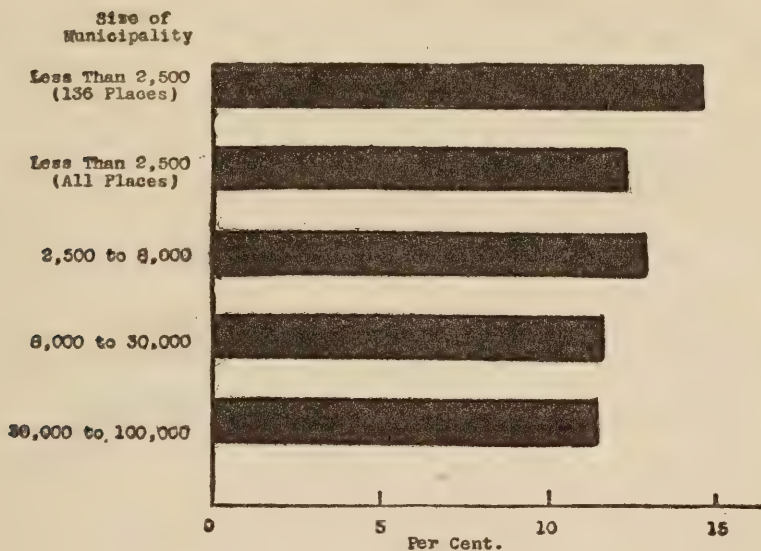


CHART IX

Per Cent. of Total Taxes Collected for
Special Assessments in All Munici-
palities of Less Than 100,000 Popu-
lation, 1922

in the South, where the per capita tax for small municipalities is \$7.02 and for large ones \$17.68.

In each region, except the Middle Atlantic, the incorporated places included in this village study collected a higher tax per capita than the average for all municipalities of less than 2,500 population. This difference may be due to the fact that the sample villages include no places with fewer than 250 and not many with fewer than 500 inhabitants.

One of the significant differences between small and large incorporated places lies in the proportion of the tax income derived from special assessments. This form of tax is a compul-

sory contribution levied to defray the cost of specific public improvements or public services. Special assessments differ from the general property tax in that they are apportioned according to the assumed benefits to the property affected by the improvements, or the assumed benefits to individuals or corporations by reason of the services performed. Chart IX, based on Table 30, Appendix D, emphasizes the greater importance of special assessments as a source of income in small places, and especially in the sample villages. These selected places are presumably installing

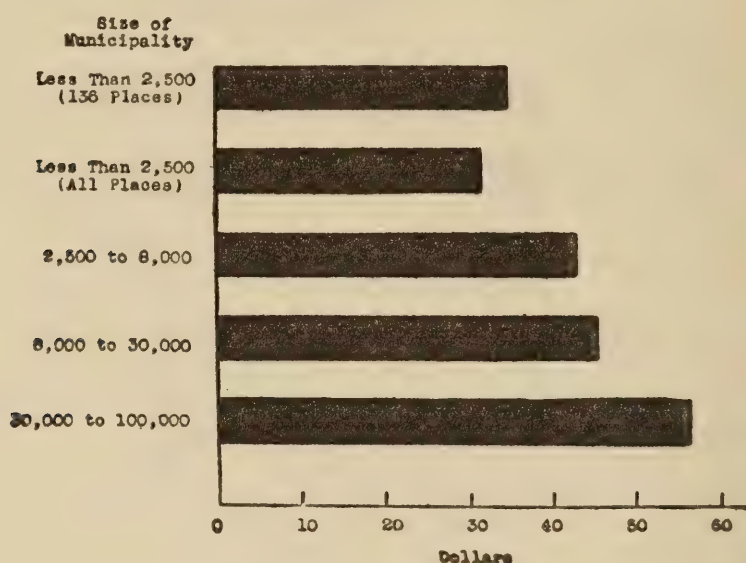


CHART X

Per Capita Total Debt of All Municipalities of Less Than 100,000 Population, 1922

their improvements at the present time or have done so recently; hence they depart rather widely in this respect from cities that have had these improvements for years.

The per capita debts of municipalities, like their taxes, tend to become greater as they increase in population. Chart X, above, illustrates this tendency for all municipalities while Table 31, Appendix D, shows that this relationship exists in three of the four geographic regions into which the data are divided. In the Middle West, however, places with more than 8,000 inhabitants report an average debt below that of smaller municipalities.

Although the small town, in general, goes into debt more cau-

tiously than a larger place there is reason to believe that in periods of unusual agricultural prosperity villages increase their debts markedly. The evidence on which this statement is based is furnished by the California State Comptroller. The *Annual Report of the Financial Transactions of Municipalities and Counties for the Year 1923* gives the outstanding bonded indebtedness of each municipality together with the date of issue and the purpose of the expenditure. A careful analysis was made of these data which shows that for small municipalities,

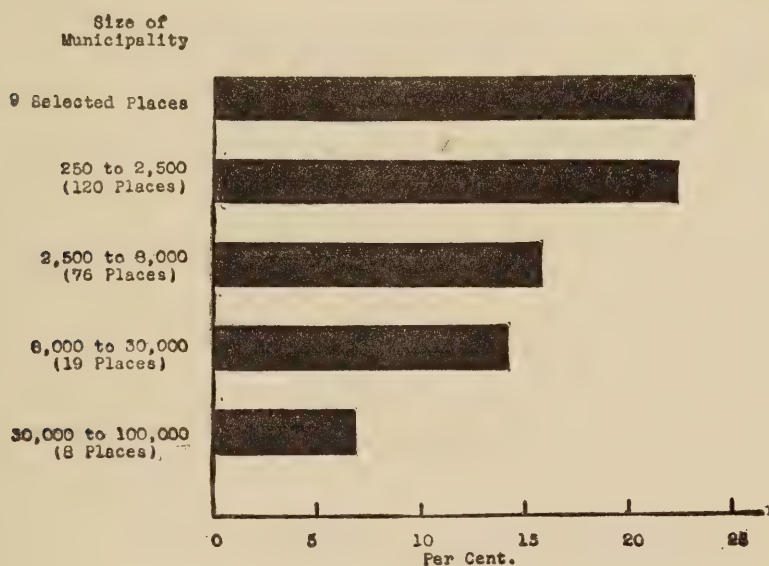


CHART XI

Per Cent. of Outstanding Bonded Indebtedness of All California Municipalities of Less Than 100,000 Population Issued 1915 to 1920

and especially for the sample visited, the five-year interval between 1915 and 1920 is responsible for a far greater share of the outstanding debt of small than of large municipalities. The probable inference to be drawn from the facts shown in Chart XI is that a period of rising agricultural prices is more clearly reflected in the standard of expenditures of small municipalities than of large. The small city or village is apparently closer to agriculture and is more readily affected by its prosperity than a larger place.

DISBURSEMENTS OF SMALL AND LARGE MUNICIPALITIES

The facts relating to the disbursements of municipalities, both small and large, have been taken from state reports. Three of the twenty-eight states in which the 140 villages are situated, New York, Iowa and California, publish detailed statements of municipal finances. In addition, Wisconsin furnished the Institute with unpublished data for the villages studied but not for other municipalities.⁴ It is especially fortunate that data were available for these four states since they include forty of the 140 sample villages, thirteen in New York, eleven in Iowa, seven in Wisconsin and nine in California.⁵ These states are well distributed over the country, representing, respectively, the Middle Atlantic, the middle-western and the far-western regions.

These three states for which complete data are available include nearly 1,500 municipalities ranging between 250 and 100,000 inhabitants, 76 per cent. of which fall within the category of village as the term is defined by the Institute.⁶ Table 32, Appendix D, shows an important difference between states in the proportion of places of this size. In California only 58 per cent. of all corporations above 250 and under 100,000 in population are villages, thus defined. The proportion rises to 70 per cent. of the group under consideration in New York and to 88 per cent. in Iowa.

The disbursements of these municipalities have been reduced to a per capita basis by dividing the expenditures by the population in 1920. The total cost of government, expressed per capita, is shown in Table 33, Appendix D, while succeeding tables present the items making up these totals. All but a few disbursements, such as the deficit on public utilities, have been considered

⁴ The data used in the following discussion and tables are for the fiscal year 1922 for the states of New York and Wisconsin and for the fiscal year ending in 1923 for the states of Iowa and California. In New York state the fiscal year coincides with the calendar year for places over 8,000 population and for places of less than 8,000 it begins on March 1. For Iowa the fiscal year begins on April 1, and for California on July 1. In the computations for New York municipalities all places of more than 8,000 inhabitants which are incorporated as villages have been excluded and all cities under 8,000 population. The per capita figures are based on the population for 1920 as reported by the Bureau of the Census.

⁵ One village in Wisconsin had a population of over 2,500 in 1920, and is therefore omitted from all calculations which involve only villages under this limit.

⁶ In the series of tables in Appendix D relating to municipal disbursements the villages ranging from 250 to 2,500 in population have been subdivided into three parts, corresponding to the classification small, medium and large villages, used throughout this study. This further division has been applied to the selected villages as well as to all incorporated places of this size in these three states.

in Tables 34 to 42. Because of these omissions, however, the sum of the per capita expenditures shown will not equal the total given in Table 33.

There is a strong tendency for the per capita cost of municipal government to increase with the size of the corporation, as shown graphically in Charts XII, XIII, and XIV. Municipalities in certain size-groups depart from this trend but it is followed in the main even when places of between 250 and 2,500

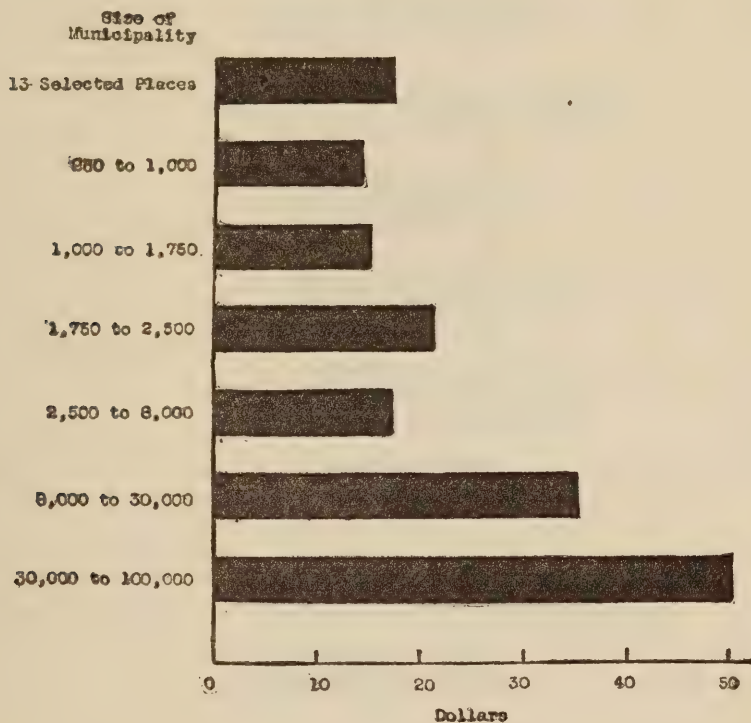


CHART XII

Per Capita Total Expenditures of New York Municipalities, 1922

population are subdivided into three classes, small, medium and large villages.

Differences in classification of expenditures from state to state might be expected to affect this comparison, but fortunately it was possible to remove almost all of these discrepancies. The most important element of difference which could not be eradicated was the fact that the expenditures reported by Iowa municipalities include not only the current expenses but outlays for permanent improvements as well. This system of classification

would tend to raise the per capita expenditures for current expenses by adding to it the amount spent in improvements during the year. In light of this circumstance it is rather amazing that Iowa villages should show the lowest average for total per capita cost of village government.

Another difference in classification which could not be re-

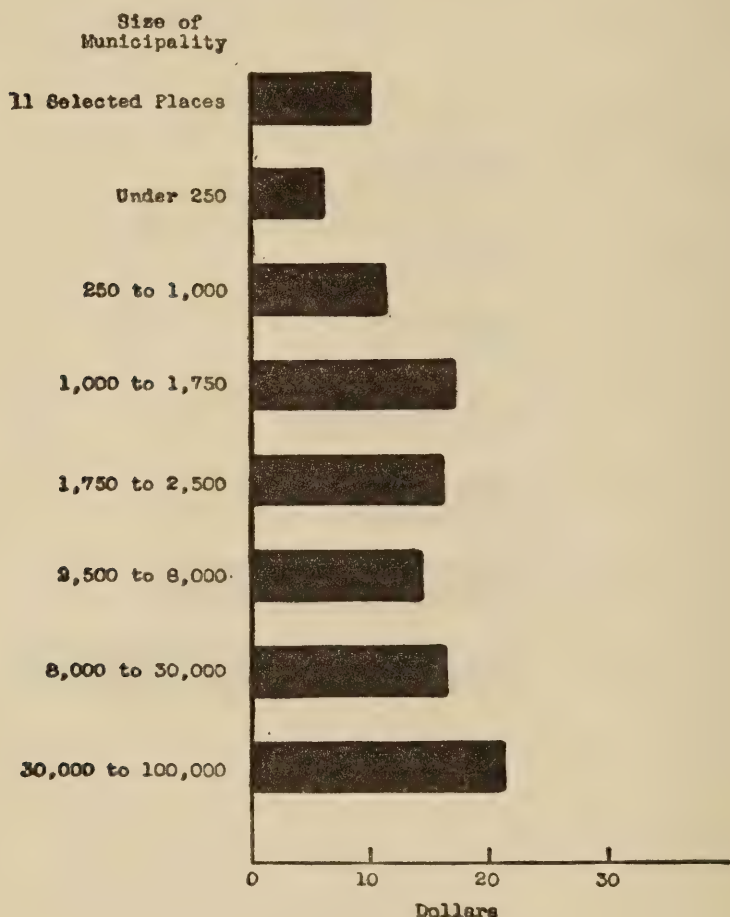


CHART XIII

Per Capita Total Expenditures of Iowa
Municipalities, 1922

moved is the inclusion by municipalities of over 8,000 population in New York State of school expenses under the category of education. In smaller places this item includes only expenditures for the maintenance and support of the village library.

To illustrate the extent to which municipal expenditures appear to vary according to the size of the community, Charts XV, XVI and XVII have been prepared to show, by states, a de-

tailed distribution per dollar spent. Comparisons have been limited to the extremes of the series, namely, cities of from 30,000 to 100,000 inhabitants on the one hand and, on the other, all villages and the sample villages in these selected states. In addition to the deductions to be drawn from these charts it is possible, from Tables 36 to 42 in Appendix D, to trace the effect of size

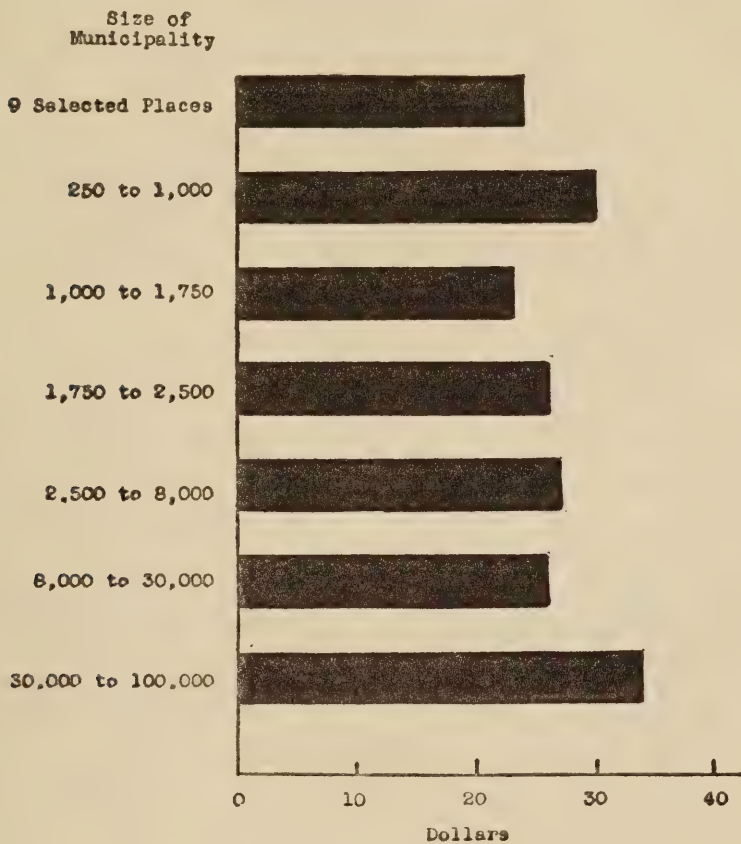


CHART XIV

Per Capita Total Expenditures of California Municipalities, 1923

of population and of location by state on any one of the principal expenditures of municipalities of all size-groups.

The most outstanding difference between cities and the entire group of smaller municipalities as revealed by Chart XV lies in the proportion of their annual disbursements for permanent improvements, highways, public utilities, repayments of debts and interest or other current financial expenditures. In New York almost three-fourths of the annual expenses of villages, seventy-

three cents of every dollar, in Iowa sixty cents in every dollar and in California fifty-three cents are spent for these items. The expenditures for the same purposes in cities are: forty-two cents

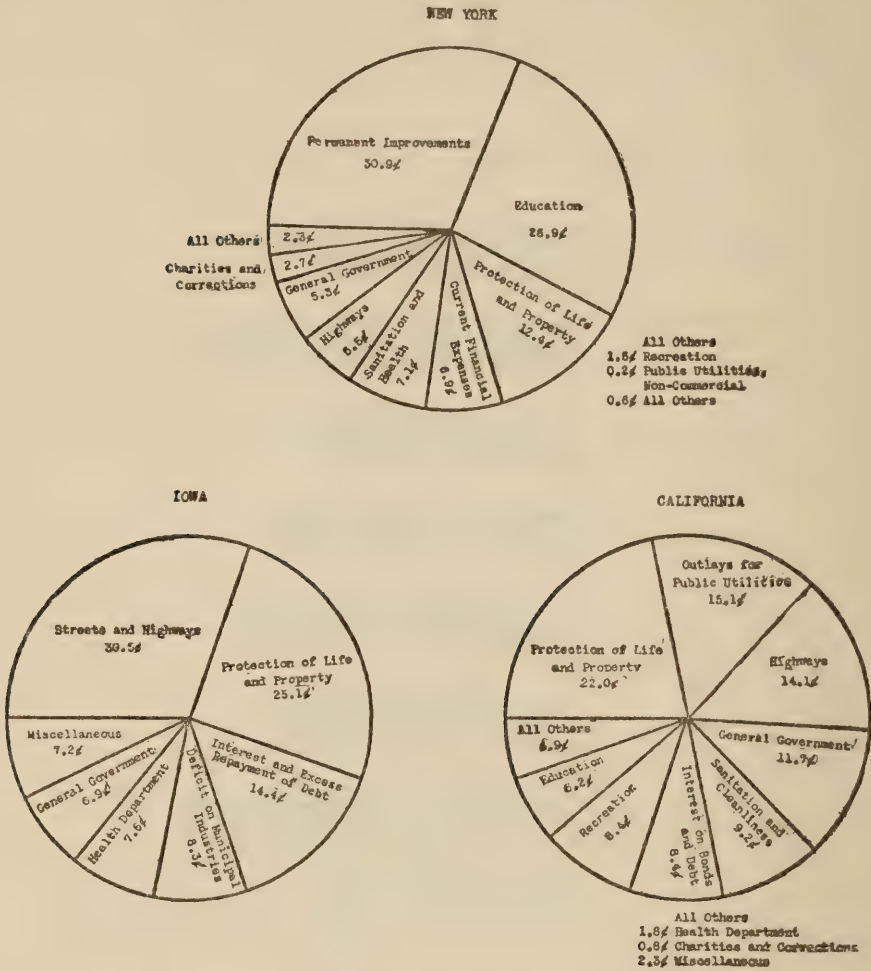


CHART XV

Proportion of Each Dollar of Operation and Maintenance Cost Expended for Each Governmental Function in 1922 by Municipalities of 30,000 to 100,000 Population in New York, in Iowa and in California

in New York, fifty-three cents in Iowa and thirty-eight cents in California.⁷ It thus costs the small corporation a proportionately greater share of its annual expenditures to maintain and equip

⁷ In Iowa the system of accounting is such that outlays for permanent improvements are not separated from current expenditures for the same purpose, so that the full costs of this item cannot be isolated. Iowa villages report a high deficit on public utilities not included in the sixty cents mentioned above.

its plant than it does the larger place. The cost to each inhabitant for this purpose is, however, relatively, but not actually, greater in villages than in cities. In New York, for example, the total per capita cost in villages is \$15.93, \$11.54 being for the

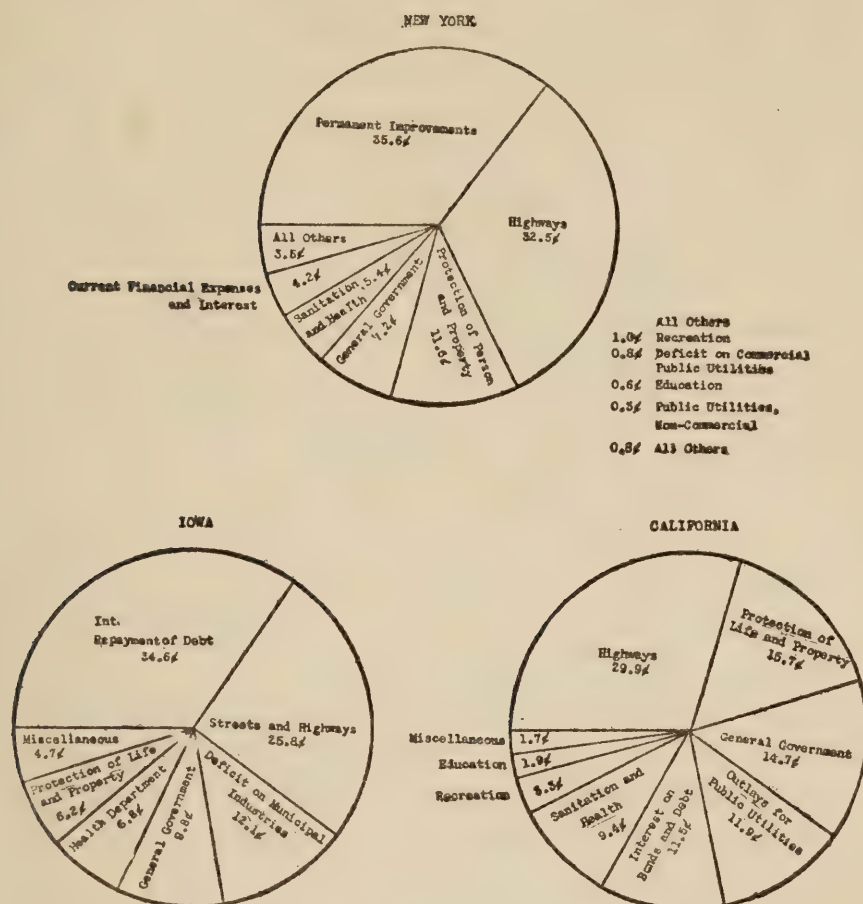


CHART XVI

Proportion of Each Dollar of Operation and Maintenance Cost Expended for Each Governmental Function in 1922 by Municipalities of 250 to 2,500 Population in New York, in Iowa and in California

items already indicated, while in cities of the size under discussion the total per capita cost is \$50.44 of which these specified items constitute \$21.86.

The three largest items in the current expenditures of all villages in these three states are: protection of persons and property, general government and health, the last including sanitation

and promotion of cleanliness. The order indicated is the one followed by New York and California villages, but in Iowa general government costs most while health is only slightly ahead of protection of life and property. These three services together comprise about one-fourth of the total expenditures of New York and Iowa and about 40 per cent. of the annual costs of government in California villages. The cost per capita for these three items is \$3.85 in New York, \$3.02 in Iowa and \$7.00 in California. The expenditure in Iowa villages is especially small in light of the fact that here this item includes not only current expenses as in the other states, but also outlays for permanent improvements for these three purposes.

When the selected villages are compared with all incorporated places of the same size in their respective states it appears that their total per capita expenditure for government is greater in New York but not in Iowa and California. The selected municipalities in each state, however, spent an even greater share of their total expenditures for permanent improvements, highways, public utilities and the repayment of debt in 1922 than all other places of that size in the same states. Selected villages in New York spent seventy-nine cents, six cents more in every dollar than all municipalities of their own size, Iowa selected villages exceeded the state average for villages of their own size by one cent in every dollar spent, and the nine selected villages in California spent twenty-one cents more than all places in their own size-group. The Wisconsin villages studied spent seventy cents in every dollar for improvements. New York and California selected villages follow the same order as the other places of their size in the three most important current expenses: protection of persons and property, general government and health (including sanitation and cleanliness). They naturally spent fewer cents in every dollar for these purposes than all places in their size-group because their expenditures for permanent improvements are relatively greater.

The classification of incorporated places of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants into three groups, viz., small, medium and large villages, for the purpose of computing per capita government costs has not shown that expenditures invariably increase with size within these rather narrow limits. The total cost for all places between 250 and 2,500 shows this tendency in New York but

not in Iowa, where all places between 1,000 and 1,750 spend most per capita, nor in California, where the entire group of municipalities of less than 1,000 population spend most. The selected villages in California, on the other hand, show a correspondence between amount of total expenditures per capita and

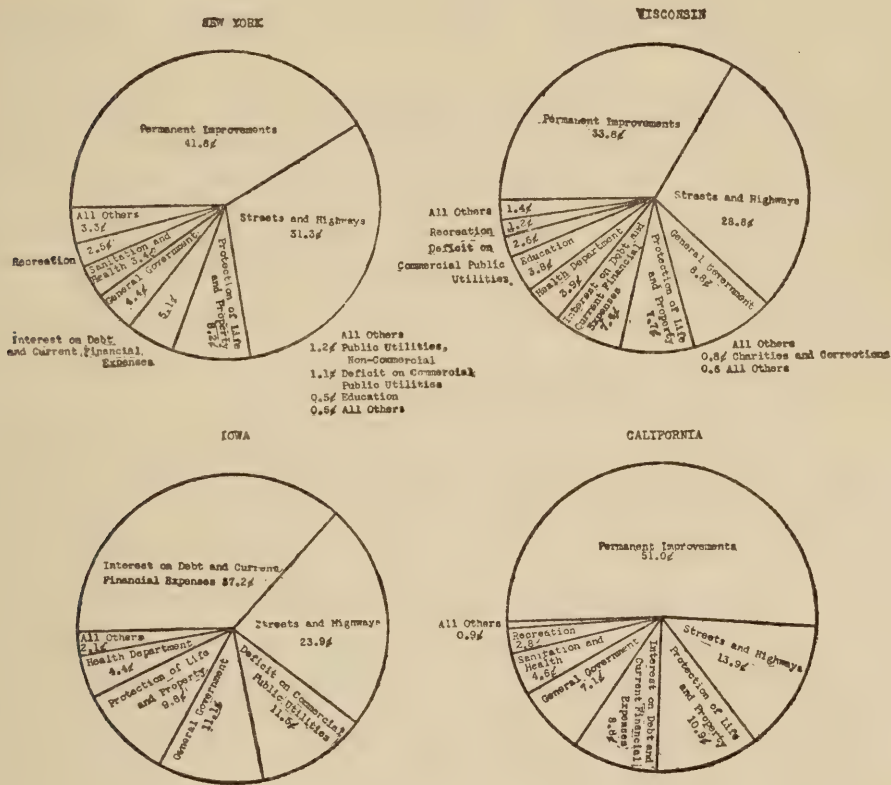


CHART XVII

Proportion of Each Dollar of Operation and Maintenance Cost Expended for Each Governmental Function in 1922 by 13 selected Municipalities of 250 to 2,500 Population in New York, 11 in Iowa, 6 in Wisconsin and 9 in California

size, but the selected villages in the other states do not. If places between 250 and 2,500 are treated as a unit, however, their taxes, debts and expenditures place them definitely in line with larger municipalities. The evidence presented in this section shows that so far as municipal finance is concerned there is no abrupt break between these so-called villages and larger urban centers.

CHAPTER X

MEASURING VARIATIONS IN VILLAGE WEALTH

VILLAGES are not equally prosperous. It is the purpose of this chapter to develop an index for measuring variations in wealth and to test its significance by discovering the characteristics with which this index is associated. This analysis will rely chiefly upon the method of correlation, involving two or more variables.

THE INDEX OF WEALTH

The data available for this analysis come from several sources. (1) The first-hand information gathered by the Institute's field investigators included a number of precise economic facts about villages; i.e., assessment valuations of village property, an estimate of the ratio of assessed to full property values, the amount of deposits in village banks, and an estimate of farm values in the community compared with those in the county as a whole. (2) The Census Bureau furnished unpublished information on the amount of taxes collected in 1922 in each village, gathered for its *Wealth, Public Debt and Taxation: 1922* series. (3) The special analysis of the 1920 Census returns for these villages, as well as the results of the field investigation, supplied population and other social data. (4) The copious notes made by the investigators furnished an explanation of many situations which would be incomprehensible from the figures alone and served as a valuable check on the other data.

A strictly comparable group of villages has been selected for this purpose from among the 140 places visited. Using the whole number would introduce too wide a divergence in a relatively small sample: an industrialized farm center in Pennsylvania, an isolated cotton village in the South and a specialized fruit community in California present too many elements of difference from the more distinctively and uniformly agricultural

villages of the Middle West to be treated as a unit. The Middle West villages were, therefore, selected as the group best suited to the requirements of this analysis. They represent an exclusively agricultural economy, dairying and grain-and-live-stock type of general farming predominating. Moreover, sixty of the 140 sample places included in this study are from this region, a considerably larger number than from any of the other three regions.

Tangible property lying within the incorporated limits of the village serves as the basis for deriving an index of village wealth. No account is taken of property lying outside the village that is owned by residents, because no estimate could be secured of the value of such property, a large part of which probably consists of farms in the community. All property included within the boundaries of the corporation, on the other hand, is credited to the village regardless of the residence of the title holder. The error resulting from the latter circumstance is known to be practically negligible, since it appears from Chapter IV that the capital invested in local enterprises, almost without exception, comes from the village itself.

A measure of the value of this tangible property can be obtained from the local assessment figures. In each village visited, the investigator obtained access to the records of the local assessor. Assessed valuations are, however, usually lower than real valuations. In order to establish the ratio of assessed to true value three opinions were obtained, one from the assessor himself, one from a local banker and one from a local real estate agent. The multiplying figure finally used to raise the assessed valuation to par is a result of these three judgments. For five villages, however, every effort failed to give a figure that squared with the field investigators' descriptions and other facts at hand and these cases were therefore dropped from all correlations involving wealth. It is confidently believed that the full valuation figures for the remaining fifty-five cases, although subject to error, are as nearly accurate as it is possible to obtain without an individual appraisal of every parcel of property in these villages.

The index of wealth was obtained by dividing the total valuation figure for each village by the number of households. This quotient is referred to hereafter as the household wealth index.

The total valuation figure was also divided by the total population, giving a per capita index. The per capita index is not extensively used in this chapter because the household index yielded higher coefficients of correlations. The household wealth index is probably more reliable because the effect of the number of persons in the household is removed and the unit becomes the head of the household who is, as a rule, the one property-owning individual in the group. In other words, the results obtained by dividing the wealth by the approximate number of individuals who own it are more satisfactory than would be obtained by dividing it by the number of individuals dependent upon it.

The household indices of village wealth show a normal frequency distribution as listed below. These fifty-five villages fall into three groups of almost equal size, eighteen with an average wealth of less than \$4,000, nineteen with between \$4,000 and \$5,000, and eighteen with \$5,000 or over.

	<i>Number</i>
Villages with household index of less than \$2,000	1
Villages with household index of \$2,000 to \$3,000	5
Villages with household index of \$3,000 to \$4,000	12
Villages with household index of \$4,000 to \$5,000	19
Villages with household index of \$5,000 to \$6,000	13
Villages with household index of \$6,000 to \$7,000	4
Villages with household index of \$7,000 and over	1

The per capita wealth indices, on the other hand, would give a curve with a decided skewness to the right if plotted, indicating a concentration of items in the richer groups.¹

	<i>Number</i>
Villages with a per capita index of \$ 250 to \$ 500	1
Villages with a per capita index of \$ 500 to \$ 750	4
Villages with a per capita index of \$ 750 to \$1,000	6
Villages with a per capita index of \$1,000 to \$1,250	17
Villages with a per capita index of \$1,250 to \$1,500	13
Villages with a per capita index of \$1,500 to \$1,750	13
Villages with a per capita index of \$1,750 to \$2,000	1

The wealth index, either per household or per capita, is affected by the total valuation of village property as well as by the

¹ These village per capita indices are lower than the results obtained by the United States Census Bureau as reported in *Wealth, Public Debt and Taxation, 1922*, "Estimated National Wealth," p. 28. The latter include all property in the state in 1920 valued at the expense of reproduction in existing condition and real estate at assessed valuation raised to par, no matter where it is located within the state, nor by whom owned. The village figures, as previously explained, are based only on the value of property within the corporation limits. The average for the United States is \$2,918, ranging from \$1,216 in Mississippi to \$6,998 in Nevada.

number of households or the number of individuals as the case may be. It expresses not wealth alone, but *wealth in relation to size*. This index is not, however, interchangeable with either total wealth or total size.²

A number of circumstances surrounding the data used in this analysis might be expected to lower the coefficients obtained. In the first place, the facts correlated have come from a variety of sources. Although these data are sufficiently similar to be used together, as the results demonstrate, they do incorporate differences in purpose, in interpretation and in time which probably influence the degree of correlation. A second condition which tends to reduce the coefficients is the difficulty of translating any social data into precise mathematical terms. In considering the relation of wealth to home ownership, for example, home ownership must be somewhat arbitrarily defined. In order to divide all cases into the category of those owned or not owned by the occupant it is necessary to ignore the effect of partial payment and to include mortgaged houses with those owned free. The percentage of home ownership reported may thus be materially increased by the investment habits of the villagers rather than by the amount of their combined wealth. In the light of these contingencies the coefficients of correlation between the wealth index and other aspects of village life presented in this chapter are believed to be significant.

VARIATIONS IN PROSPERITY

The data at hand furnished a means of testing two hypotheses relating to the causes of village prosperity: first, that a larger village has an advantage over a smaller place in accumulating wealth by virtue of its greater population; and second, that the wealth of the surrounding open country may be a determining factor in the economic condition of an agricultural village.

The most outstanding reason for the greater relative household wealth of one village than another appears to be found in its size. Large villages offer a greater number and variety of

² See footnote 5, page 265, for an illustration of the difference in results obtained by correlating, respectively, the household wealth index, total population, and total valuation of village property with the ratio of village children in high school to the number in the grades. The results in this particular case indicate that the wealth index is affected more by the total valuation of property in a village than by its size.

services to the farmer and draw trade from a more extensive area than the smaller place. The increased business carried on in these larger villages, as well as their prospects for future business, appears to result in a proportionately greater concentration of property. If tangible property were evenly distributed throughout these fifty-five villages, regardless of the num-

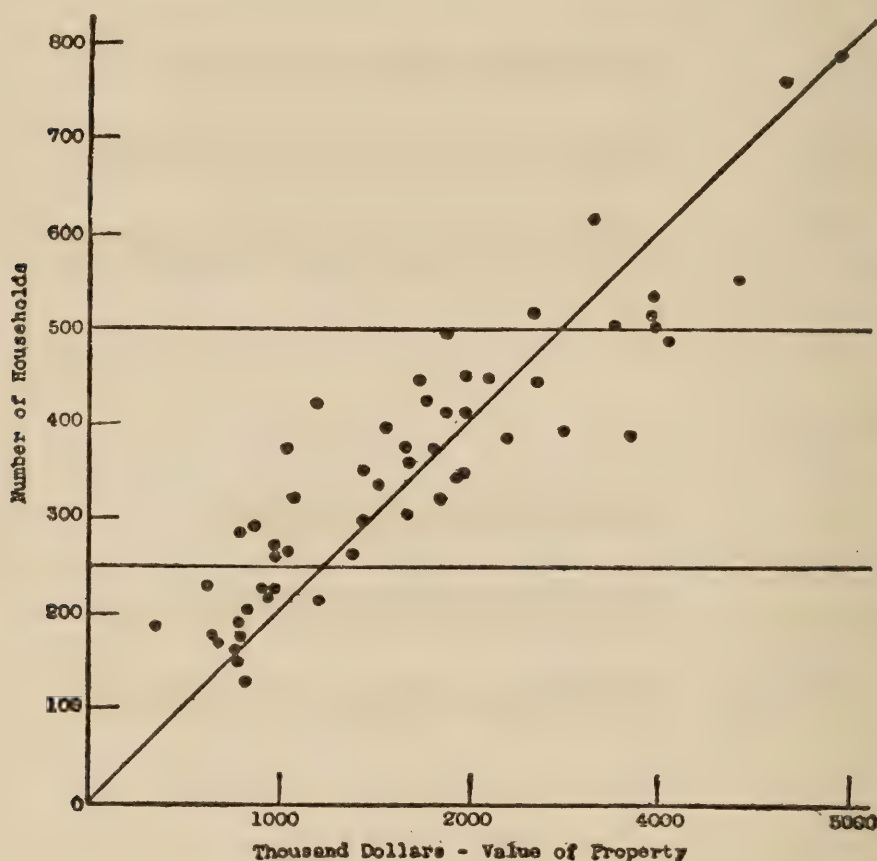


CHART XVIII

Correlation Between Number of Village Households and Total Value of Village Property

ber of households, a coefficient of $+1$ would result from correlating number of households and total valuation of property. The actual correlation, however, gives a coefficient of $+0.90$.

This relationship between the value of village property and number of households is shown graphically in Chart XVIII for fifty-five cases. The horizontal scale measures number of households, the vertical scale the value of property in thousands of

dollars. The heavy horizontal lines divide the villages into three size-groups, those with fewer than 250 households, those with 250 to 500 and those with 500 households or more. The diagonal is the line of perfect correspondence between households and property. Each village plotted above this line is, therefore,

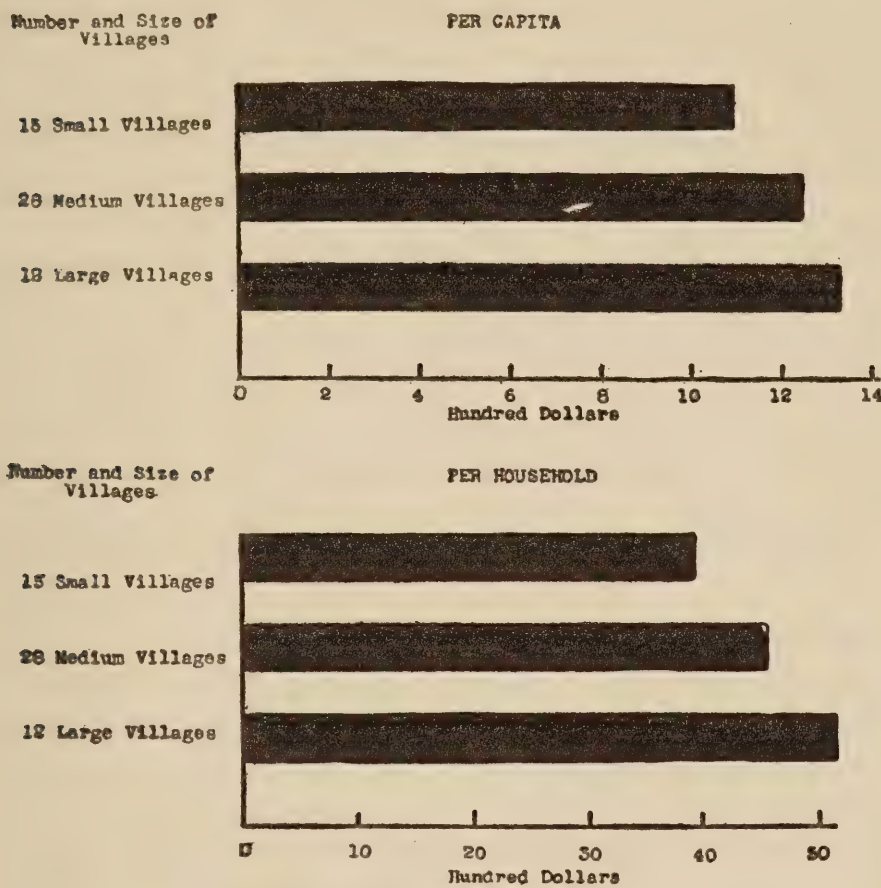


CHART XIX
Average Wealth Per Household and Per
Capita in Small, Medium and Large
Villages

relatively poor, while those falling below are comparatively rich. For the two smaller groups of villages the proportion above the diagonal line is ten to three and twenty-three to eleven respectively, while the eight places with more than 500 households are equally numerous above and below. Large villages thus appear to have more property, in relation to the number of families, than the other two groups.

The concentration of property in larger places can be indicated also by computing the average wealth for each household and for each individual in small, medium and large villages. Chart XIX shows that the average wealth increases with the size-group, demonstrating merely that the correlation is positive. The degree of relationship between the wealth index and size, however, cannot be measured by such a set of averages.³

One of the most frequently reiterated statements of villagers, especially in the Middle West, is: "This is a farmers' town and our prosperity depends upon the farmer." If the prosperity of the farmer does influence the economic well-being of his local trade center some indication of the tendency should be found in the agricultural environment of the village. The data at hand relative to open-country wealth consist of 1920 Census returns on the value of farm lands in the county, with a correction figure for the community obtained from the local county agent, schedule facts on community bank deposits and information about the location of the village with reference to crop areas. With this evidence it should be possible to test statistically the validity of the generalization that the open country is the basis of village wealth.

The value of land and improvements per acre within the community supplies a relatively exact measurement of open-country wealth. The 1920 Census averages for each county were corrected by a figure obtained from the local farm agent indicating the difference between values in the community area and in the county at large. Five communities which gave evidence of having been unduly affected by the land boom of 1919 were excluded from consideration. The farm value index for the remaining fifty places was correlated with the village household figure. The coefficient is $+.75$.⁴ The prosperity of the village as measured

³ Throughout this chapter such charts are interspersed in order to illustrate some fact established by a correlation or to show a relationship which cannot be demonstrated mathematically because no valid index can be worked out. These averages are never substituted for correlations.

⁴ It is impossible to determine whether this coefficient expresses the full correspondence actually existing between the wealth of town and country. Farm values were taken by the Census Bureau as of January 1, 1920, when the land boom was at its height in the Middle West. The village assessment figures, on the other hand, are for the year 1923. It is evident that a wide discrepancy is possible during this three-year interval. The comparability of these two sets of figures depends, however, not so much on the year for which they were reported as upon the frequency of assessment and its sensitiveness to changes in valuations. The inertia of appraisals, that is, their tendency to reflect the usual values obtaining in the past rather than temporary fluctuations, may have kept both sets of figures at the pre-boom level.

by the household wealth index seems, therefore, to be influenced to a considerable degree by land values. The villager is probably more dependent upon the farmer for his economic advancement than he realizes.

The accumulated savings of the community, revealed by the checking and saving deposits of village banks, show a marked tendency to vary with the wealth indices of both village and open country. Such reports as are available from local banks indicate that more of their patronage comes from the farmer than from the villager, so that the volume of deposits serves as an index of the wealth of the entire community, possibly weighted in favor of the farming area. Since the community wealth is a composite of farm and village prosperity it is impossible to isolate these three factors. It is only by considering separately the village and farm indices in relation to community bank deposits that any results can be obtained. A net correlation between total village property values and community bank deposits, eliminating the effect of the number of households in the village, gives a coefficient of $+ .77$.⁵ This coefficient indicates a high degree of interdependence between the property values of the village and the savings of the community as a whole.

The suggestion implied in the preceding paragraph that the bank deposits are more closely associated with farm wealth than with village prosperity is substantiated by a correlation between farm values per acre and bank deposits per household in the community. This correlation yields a coefficient of $+ .85$, appreciably higher than the relationship between village and community wealth. A possible inference to be drawn from this difference is that the farming area is a more important element in the accumulation of the community's wealth than is the village. This conclusion can be advanced only tentatively since no further data are available with which to establish it definitely.

⁵ This net correlation is the result of the following computations for fifty-one villages :

Coefficient of correlation between total village property values and number of village households.....	$+ .9057$
Coefficient of correlation between total village property values and community bank deposits.....	$+ .7971$
Coefficient of correlation between community bank deposits and number of village households.....	$+ .7715$
Coefficient of net correlation between total village property values and community bank deposits, eliminating the effect of number of village households	$+ .7715$

The effect of the size of the open-country population cannot be eliminated.

Both the per capita and household indices of wealth have been studied carefully to see whether they vary under the influence of location or crop. The results are largely negative and inconclusive. Villages situated east of the Mississippi, for example, show approximately the same per capita wealth as those to the west of this river.

The wealth indices vary somewhat with the crop predominating in the community, but these variations may be caused by the size of the community rather than by its agricultural products. Thus the spring-wheat villages may show the highest household index, not because they are located in a particular crop area, but because they have the largest populations. On the other hand, the per capita index differs widely from the household figures. Unfortunately the sample in each crop area is too small to permit the necessary subdivision and analysis by size-groups. The relation to the particular kind of crop raised to village wealth cannot, therefore, be established.

	<i>Average Village Population</i>	<i>Wealth Per Household</i>	<i>Wealth Per Capita</i>
26 Corn Belt villages	1,325	\$4,675	\$1,306
10 corn and wheat villages.	884	4,086	1,158
13 dairy villages	1,472	4,752	1,273
3 spring wheat villages ...	1,951	5,906	1,176
1 Cotton Belt village	1,412	3,609	698

The foregoing analysis of the causes of village wealth indicates, first, that the larger the villages the greater the amount of property per household and per capita, and secondly that villages in rich agricultural communities, regardless of the crop area in which they are located, are more prosperous than villages in communities where farm-land values are low. These conclusions accord so well with observation and experience that they engender confidence in the validity and value of the household wealth index as a measure of economic prosperity.

HOW WEALTH AFFECTS A COMMUNITY

The wealth of a community reacts on its social and economic life in ways too numerous and too subtle to be catalogued and measured by any kind of mathematical reckoning. It is possible, however, to isolate and study a few outstanding features which vary in response to group prosperity. Three lines of investiga-

tion have accordingly been undertaken: First, do public expenditures of the village increase with wealth as measured by property values? Second, is the standard of living of individual families modified by prosperity? Third, are social institutions influenced by comparative riches?

Comments from the field investigators' notebooks illustrate differences in outward appearances of rich and poor villages which defy mathematical treatment. The first of the three descriptions quoted below applies to an Iowa village with a household index of \$6,340; the second describes the poorest village visited in the Middle West, a lumbering community in Minnesota, where the average wealth for each household is only \$1,820; the third village is an almost equally impoverished village in Missouri, with a household wealth index of \$2,590. It is significant that, in spite of the wide range of wealth represented by these three places, each has its bit of metropolitan pretension.

The residential district, shaded by tall and beautiful maples, might easily be thought the suburb of a progressive city. Many of the homes are of modern architecture, built either of brick or stucco. . . . All the main streets are paved and well lighted. An oak park at one end of the town is equipped for the play of youngsters, for picnic parties and for tourist camping. . . . One of the most satisfying sights of the village is the county courthouse, a gray stone building whose architecture faintly suggests a baronial castle. It stands in the center of the town, surrounded by a beautiful shaded lawn. At the right a small brick band stand has been erected, and on Wednesday night cars flank all sides of the courthouse square for band concerts composed almost exclusively of classical selections.

As a stranger enters the village, he is conscious of being in a new town, a town bare of trees, with new concrete walks, the latest style of street lights, wide unimproved streets, one and two story buildings, cows picketed on vacant lots near the center of town, people lined up outside the post office waiting for the evening distribution of mail. The school building is one of the four brick structures in town. The majority of the business buildings are sided with tin, a few are of wood, and a few are of tar paper. Many of the buildings seem to have been constructed hastily and to be slightly surprised and more discouraged to find that they are still there. The two department stores have groceries, dry goods, hardware and farm implements all side by side. The town hall houses the fire apparatus, and has an auditorium on the second floor wherein are held the village

gatherings, and which serves as the gymnasium for the school children during the winter.

This is a small village in southeast Missouri. A hill and a turn of the road completely hide it until you are within it. It is a plain little village almost lost among the trees of the low rolling hills. Half a dozen comfortable homes straggle upon the outskirts, then the road dips sharply down a little hill and you are upon Main Street. Main Street is one block long and for a year has been a "White Way"; a dozen large electric lamps stand in the center of the wide graveled street. Upon one side about ten stores, frame and brick buildings two stories in height. On the left are three buildings, a little unpainted shop which was the first store in town, a brick hotel building and a filling station.

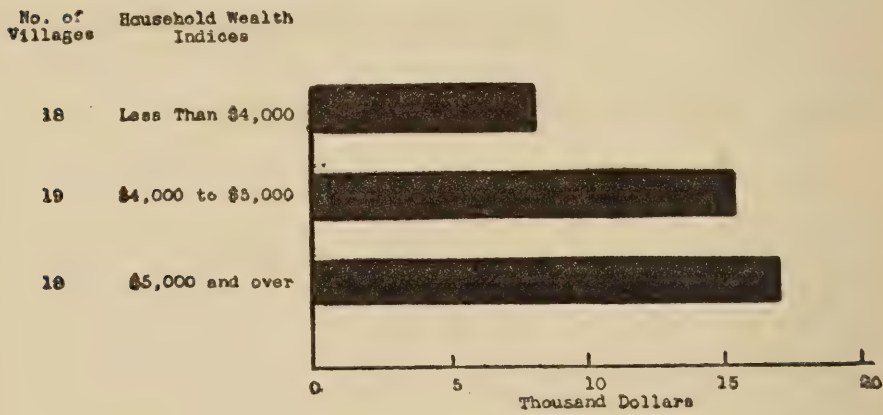


CHART XX

Average Amount of General Property
Tax Collected in 1922 by Villages
Classified According to Their House-
hold Wealth Indices

Railroad Street lies at right angles, is about two blocks long and boasts of eight stores all facing the grassy bordered ditch which lies along the railroad track. A great deal needs to be done in the improvement of personal property. Many houses are not painted and need repairing.

The preceding chapter, dealing with municipal finances, has shown that size is an important factor in increasing the amount of taxes collected per capita. It is apparent, moreover, that the full valuation of taxable property in the village also tends to increase the per capita tax collected as indicated by the relative length of the bars in Chart XX. A second set of bars, Chart

XXI, has been prepared to show the direction of the discrepancy in tax rates. It is evident from the averages presented in this chart that the tax burden is proportionately lighter on the person who lives in a wealthier village.

Data are not available to show how the taxes collected in 1922 were expended. The public improvements reported at the time of the field study are, however, an indication of the expenditures for this purpose at some time in the past. The four public

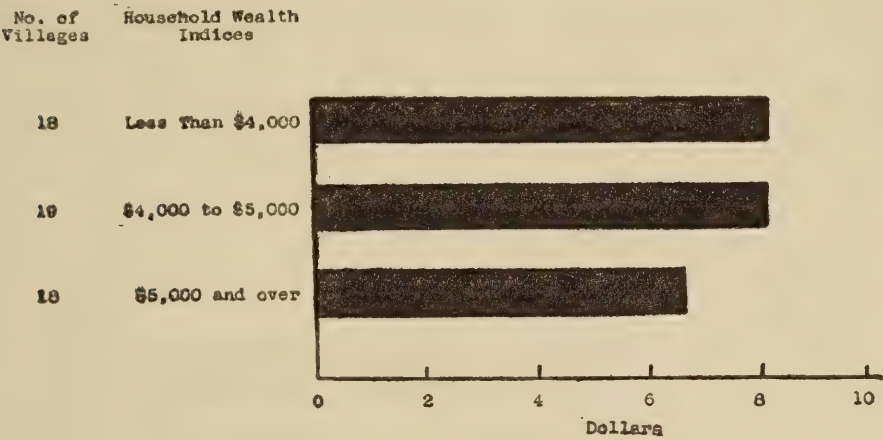


CHART XXI

Average Amount of General Property
Tax Collected Per \$1,000 True Val-
uation in Villages Classified Accord-
ing to Their Wealth Indices

improvements, light, water and sewerage disposal plants and paving, included in the following tabulations, show a marked tendency to be associated with high property values per household.⁶

	Villages Which Report	
	None, One or Two Improvements	Three or Four Improvements
Villages with household wealth indices of less than \$4,000	15	3
Villages with household wealth indices of \$4,000 to \$5,000	12	7
Villages with household wealth indices of \$5,000 or over	6	12

The available criteria of the family standard of living prevailing in agricultural villages include census data relating to home ownership, and the gainful employment of men and mar-

⁶ The village library, another public expenditure in many places, is discussed with social institutions.

ried women. Home ownership implies stability of population for the village and a sense of economic security for the individual family. The ability to retire, to live in plenty and comfort according to the standards of the community, is a generally accepted goal. The extent to which these conditions are met in village life, therefore, largely measures its prosperity.

Home owners, as previously explained, include those who own their homes free as well as those who have made only partial payments and are meeting mortgages. Ownership may thus be achieved by a relatively small investment and does not imply, in every instance, that the family has already obtained an unincumbered title to the property. This circumstance explains why the coefficient between per capita village wealth and the proportion of homes rented is only $-.40$. This result seems to indicate, however, that there is a tendency for the proportion of families living in rented houses to decrease in the more prosperous villages.

The number of unemployed adult males in these villages seems to vary with the wealth index. This conclusion is based on the high correlation, $-.51$, between this index and the percentage of men between forty-five and sixty-five years of age gainfully employed.⁷ In poorer villages, where the need for gainful employment is presumably greater, a higher proportion of older men is at work.

The extent of employment of married women in these village communities probably depends as much upon the opportunities for work offered by local industries as, if not more than, upon the family's need for additional income. The 1920 census data were collected in January when the seasonal food industries, an important item in village demand for female labor, were not in operation. The census return on the number of village women employed, therefore, may minimize the number of married women who work. This circumstance no doubt accounts for the low correlation between the employment of married women and the household wealth index, $-.25$, in these middle-western villages. Even this low correlation is amazingly high when it is remembered that, on the whole, wealthy villages are the larger villages and these in turn are the very ones that afford the greatest op-

⁷ When this correlation is modified to include all cases sixty-five and over as well as those from forty-five to sixty-five the coefficient is raised to $-.5302$. This increase in degree of correlation indicates that non-employed older men tend to be found in rich villages.

portunities for industrial employment. The conclusion is warranted, therefore, that women in wealthy villages do not seek employment to the same extent as in poorer villages, even though the opportunities for such employment are appreciably greater.

VILLAGE INSTITUTIONS AND THE WEALTH INDEX

The first point to be taken up in considering the effect of variations in household wealth upon the functioning of the village school has to do with attendance; the second with the financial support of education. Although it cannot be assumed that all children in the high school are beyond the legal compulsory school-attendance age of their respective states, this premise probably holds true for the great majority. The ratio of the number of village children in high school to the number of village children in the grades was, therefore, finally taken as the index of the school's holding power.⁸ This index figure disregards the open-country attendance in both grade and high schools. The coefficient resulting from the correlation of the attendance index and the household wealth figure is high enough to be significant, $+.46$. A village in which there is a high property valuation per household tends to keep a large proportion of its children in school longer than a poorer village. In order to test further the soundness of the household wealth index, a partial correlation was worked out to show the correlation between total property values and the school-attendance index when the effect of size of population was eliminated. The result is a coefficient of $+.54$, which checks very closely with the $+.46$ noted above. When the effect of total property values is eliminated by use of partial correlation between total population and the school attendance index the resulting coefficient is $-.50$. In other words, when the wealth factor is eliminated, school attendance tends to decrease with the increasing size of the village.⁹ Wealth and size thus tend to influence school attendance in opposite directions, the one increasing and the other decreasing it.

⁸ Other figures, such as the number of village children in specified age-groups attending school, or the ratio of total high-school to grade enrollment, were not sufficiently sensitive to local variations to serve this purpose.

⁹ The actual coefficients are:

Household wealth index and school attendance index.....	$+.4619$
Total valuation of property and school attendance index.....	$+.2138$
Total population and school attendance.....	$-.0006$
Net correlation between valuation of property and school attendance, eliminating the effect of size of population.....	$+.5362$
Net correlation between population and school attendance index, eliminating the effect of total valuation of property.....	$-.5033$

On the second count, the financial support of the school, the poor village seems to make almost as good a showing as the more prosperous place. The minimum cost of maintaining a school plant is probably so definitely fixed that it cannot be materially reduced in a poor community. The village is forced to maintain a certain standard of school efficiency regardless of whether it can easily afford to do so. The constancy of school expenditures for forty-eight villages is shown in the following tabulation:

	<i>Expenditures for Grade and High School</i>	
	<i>Average Per Capita</i>	<i>Average Per Household</i>
15 villages with household wealth indices of less than \$4,000	\$24.48	\$87.00
15 villages with household wealth indices of \$4,000 to \$5,000	24.48	86.84
18 villages with household wealth indices of \$5,000 or over	23.46	90.61

When grade teachers' salaries are isolated from the total school expenditures it appears, however, that the richer villages do invest proportionately more money in the education of their children. Villages with higher household indices not only tend to pay their teachers at a higher rate for each pupil taught but they also provide more adequate teaching facilities. The total salaries of all teachers in the grade school, divided by the total number of elementary and grammar-school pupils, served as the salary index which was correlated with the household wealth index, giving a coefficient of $+.36$. The implication is that there is perhaps more than a chance relationship between the wealth of a village and the salaries paid its grade-school teachers. The total number of grade pupils, divided by the number of grade-school teachers, furnished the index for the adequacy of teaching service. This index, correlated with the average household wealth figure, gives a coefficient of $-.36$, showing that the number of pupils taught by one teacher tends to decrease as the village becomes more prosperous.

WEALTH AND THE CHURCH

Three aspects of church activity in relation to the household wealth index are to be considered: first, church-membership and attendance; second, the liberality with which the church is sup-

ported; and third, a comparison of church and school support.⁹

The percentage of males twenty-one years of age and over who join the church shows a strong tendency to vary with the household wealth index, $+.49$. It can be argued that this coefficient is spurious because the total number of males is virtually the same as the number of households and the introduction of this factor into both series of variables artificially raises the coefficient. In order to obviate this difficulty a net correlation was computed between the actual number of adult male church-members and the total property values of the village, eliminating the effect of the total population. The computation gave a result of $+.30$. In a further attempt to establish the relationship between wealth and church-membership a third correlation was worked out. This time the per capita wealth index was used in connection with the proportion of actual membership to potential membership. The index of actual to potential membership was arrived at by taking the ratio of the members of white Protestant churches to the total village population ten years of age and over, minus the Catholic and negro constituencies. The resulting coefficient is $+.42$. Each of these coefficients is positive and their cumulative effect is to suggest that there is probably more than a chance association between riches and church-membership.

Since the total valuation of tangible property is closely associated with the number of inhabitants in the village, it is but natural to find that the size also has some bearing on the tendency of people to join the church. For twenty-eight villages of more than one thousand inhabitants the total population shows a correlation of $+.56$ between the ratio of adult male church-members to the total number of adult males in the village. The villages of less than one thousand population, however, show no evidence of this connection between size and increased church-membership. There is probably a distinct upper limit as well as a lower limit to this interrelationship.

Although wealth tends to increase church-membership there is no evidence that it stimulates church attendance. At least the correlations worked out for this point gave no indication whatever of any association between the household wealth index and attendance at church.

⁹ For other Institute studies of the effect of wealth on village church life, see Fry, *Diagnosing the Rural Church*, Chapters II and III, and especially pages 75-80.

Total church expenditures, which are determined largely by the cost and upkeep of the building and the salary of the pastor, show comparatively little fluctuation with the property value of the community. The reason for this lack of correspondence probably lies in the fact that the minimum cost of maintaining a physical plant and a staff, whether school or church, is fairly constant. The average values of Methodist Episcopal church buildings in forty-nine middle-western villages, classified by household wealth index, demonstrate this situation clearly:

	<i>Average Value of Church Building</i>
16 villages with household wealth indices of less than \$4,000	\$17,306
17 villages with household wealth indices of \$4,000 to \$5,000	18,347
16 villages with household wealth indices of \$5,000 or over..	17,737

It is not to be expected, therefore, that the index of church costs obtained by dividing total church expenditures by the number of active members would show any correlation with the household wealth of villages. This correlation was not computed because there was no evidence of relationship between these two factors when plotted. A second attempt was made by using a second index of church expenditures, the ratio of total expenditure to aggregate monthly attendance at all church services, but with no better success. The per capita expenditure for benevolences does, however, respond to the prosperity of the community, showing a correlation of $+.33$. Since the salary of pastors in small churches is apparently standardized, it is to be expected that churches in relatively poor villages should spend a great deal more proportionately for this purpose than those in richer places. The validity of this reasoning is borne out by a high coefficient of correlation, $-.89$, between the wealth per household and the ministers' salary paid by all churches per active member. The poorer the village, therefore, the greater the share paid by each active member.

The final point to be considered with reference to the church is whether popular financial support of religious institutions carries with it any implication as to the support of education. A correlation between the per capita contribution for benevolences in village churches and the salary per pupil paid to village grade-school teachers yielded a coefficient of $+.44$. This coefficient can be accepted as indicative of an appreciable degree of real

correspondence between generosity in the support of the benevolent enterprises of the church and school in village communities.

WEALTH AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The social institutions still to be discussed include fraternal organizations, women's social organizations, libraries and health agencies. They will be considered briefly in the order indicated.

The prosperity of a community appears to have but little effect in stimulating interest in fraternal organizations as meas-

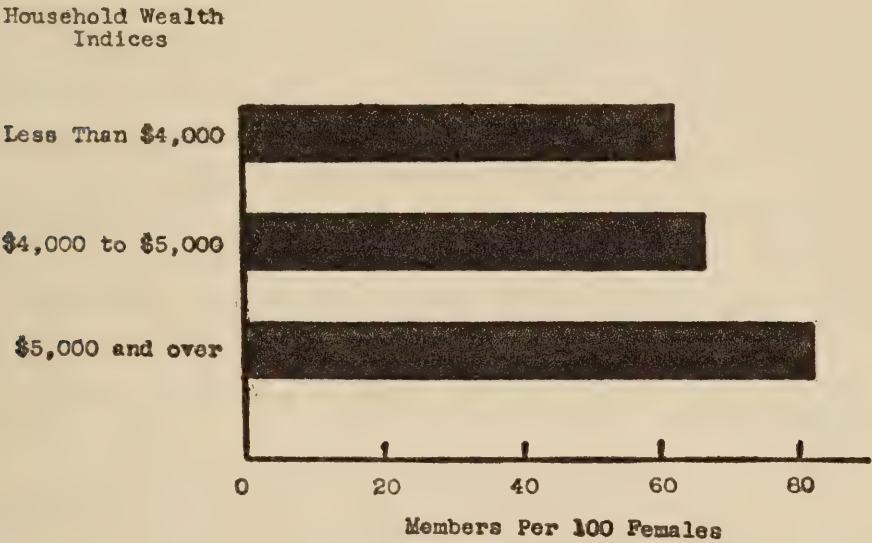


CHART XXII
Organized Social Activity in Relation to
Village Property

ured by attendance. The coefficient obtained by correlating the ratio of monthly attendance interest in fraternal organizations with the household wealth index was negative but too low to be significant. This index of attendance interest was also correlated with the index of church attendance to test the hypothesis, advanced in some villages, that lodges were taking the place of the church. The coefficient was $+.32$. This result is not high enough to be conclusive, but it is positive instead of negative, as it would have to be in order to substantiate the claim made above. It must be borne in mind, however, that church attendants are largely women, while the lodges enroll more men than

women. If the facts of attendance in church and lodge could be divided by sex the outcome might be quite different.

There is a presumption of greater leisure in rich villages than in poorer places and the women of the community apparently devote a measure of it to organized sociability. The number of members of social organizations in every one hundred females twenty years of age and over serves as the index of this activity in village life. Since any woman may be a member of several organizations in these communities it is apparent that the number of members is not the same as the number of individuals. The increase in this activity with greater prosperity is illustrated in Chart XXII.

Village libraries are frequently established by private means on the condition that the public will contribute a share of the initial cost or will undertake the partial or complete support after a period of years. Approximately one-fourth of the libraries found in these middle-western communities were supported entirely by the village government, while half were maintained by both public and private resources. The tabulation below shows that no matter whether the support is public or private, a relatively poor village is less likely to afford a library than a richer municipality:

	<i>Villages Which Report</i>	
	<i>Library</i>	<i>No Library</i>
Villages with household wealth indices of less than \$4,000	9	9
Villages with household wealth indices of \$4,000 to \$5,000	12	7
Villages with household wealth indices of \$5,000 or over	15	3

The prosperity of a community is an important factor in determining not only whether the village has a library but also the adequacy of the services available, as measured by the annual circulation. Twenty-nine of the thirty-six villages that have libraries were able to give their annual circulation. Both the average number of volumes per capita and the average number per household are more than twice as high in the eleven richest places as in the nine poorest villages, as shown in Chart XXIII.

The residents of a comparatively rich village seem to have an advantage over those living in less prosperous places in the matter of health protection as well as in the more definitely in-

stitutionalized social functions. At least, reports available from these fifty-five middle-western villages show greater likelihood

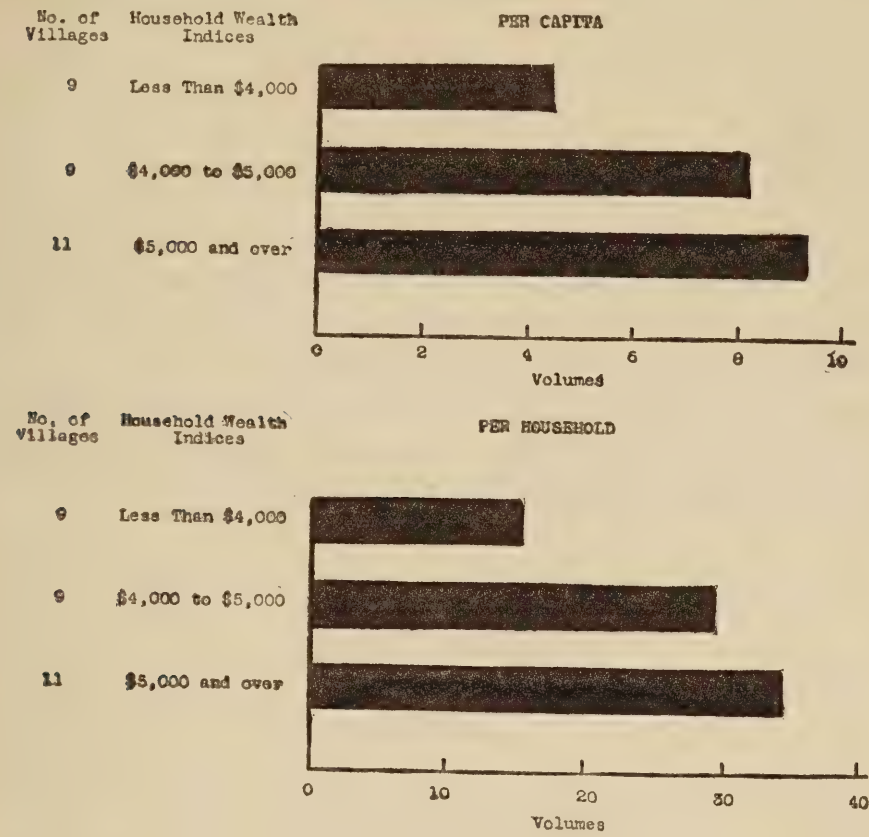


CHART XXIII
Library Circulation in Relation to Village Property

of the services of a public health nurse in richer places than in poorer ones:

	Villages Which Report	
	Services of Public Health Nurse	No Public Health Nurse
Villages with household wealth index of less than \$4,000	4	14
Villages with household wealth index of \$4,000 to \$5,000	7	12
Villages with household wealth index of \$5,000 or over	9	9

The presence or absence of a public health nurse appears to correspond more closely to the wealth of a community than to its size. The tabulation given below shows these same fifty-five

places distributed according to size and according to nursing services:

	<i>Villages Which Report</i>	
	<i>Services of</i>	<i>No Public</i>
	<i>Public Health</i>	<i>Health Nurse</i>
	<i>Nurse</i>	
Small villages	6	9
Medium villages	9	19
Large villages	6	6

It is apparent from the preceding discussion that the activities of village social institutions are largely conditioned by the degree of economic prosperity obtaining. A village supports what it considers the essential minimum, a school and a church, no matter what its wealth, but as it becomes more prosperous it supports them more generously and adds other sources such as libraries and more adequate health facilities.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

HISTORY AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

THE study of American agricultural villages was undertaken as a contribution to the solution of the nation's rural problem. The village has long been recognized as an important element in rural civilization. Not only do incorporated villages contain one-twelfth of the nation's population, but each of them is, as it were, the hub of a considerable territory whose inhabitants depend upon the village for a number of services, the chief of which are economic. For this reason the trade area of a village came to be regarded, as by Galpin, in his *Rural Life*,¹ as its "community." Later the various services offered by the village to the country were analyzed by Kolb,² who showed the significance of the relationships involved.

The two works mentioned, together with H. Paul Douglass' study, *The Little Town*, and a few scattered chapters comprise all of the vital material available on village life. Even the federal government, though accustomed regularly to collecting census data separately for each incorporated village, has never published this information in any detail. For each incorporated place of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants it prints only a single figure—the total population.

A study of this little known element in rural life was twice recommended by groups of rural leaders called to confer with the executives of the Institute about its program, as well as by the Town and Country Committee of the Home Missions Council, representing some thirty Protestant bodies, and by the American Country Life Association.

It was agreed that the study should be limited to agricultural villages, which are the most numerous type and which are to be found in every state. The other types are limited to definite areas. Thus suburban villages are found only near large cities. Resort communities predominate along the sea coast, on lakes and in the accessible scenic portions of mountain ranges. Agricultural villages are distributed as universally as the farming industry.³ For the purposes of this study an agricultural village was considered to be an incorporated⁴ place of between 250 and 2,500 population, located in a

¹ Chapter IV.

² *Service Relations of Town and Country*.

³ Cf. the Institute's *Town and Country Series*, 12 volumes.

⁴ Incorporation was accepted as a condition in selecting the villages to be studied because detailed census material, alluded to later, could be obtained only for incorporated places. Incorporated places also have local records of social significance not obtainable for unincorporated villages. The very high proportion of villages in

strictly agricultural area, which had become a "service station" for the farmers of the contiguous rural territory.

THE CHOICE OF VILLAGES

As it was obviously impossible to study all villages, the sampling method was adopted. Those consulted decided that 150 villages would furnish a fair cross-sectional picture of conditions throughout the nation.⁵ The first step was to discover the number of villages within each state and to estimate the proportion of these which were "agricultural." This estimate was based on location and on certain census reports. Thus all villages within commuting distance of cities of more than 100,000 population were rejected, as were all those in predominantly industrial counties such as those in the coal fields. Thus the number and population of the agricultural villages were determined for each state. On the basis of these data an estimate was made of the number of villages to be studied in each state and in each major region.

Correspondence was then entered into with appropriate persons or organizations in thirty-three of the states, such as professors of rural sociology, directors of extension, superintendents of public instruction, state councils of churches, where they existed, and occasionally state religious executives.⁶

These persons and organizations were asked to suggest incorporated villages which they considered representative of the agricultural areas of their states. Replies were received from all but one state, and in nearly every instance valuable assistance was given. Efforts were made to secure independent lists from at least two sources within each state. If the name of a village appeared on two or more lists, it was tentatively selected for field study. Villages suggested by only one person, institution or agency were submitted to others

the Middle West which are incorporated led to the assumption that the agricultural village was more likely to be incorporated than some other types of communities having less than 2,500 inhabitants. See Table I, page 155, *A Census Analysis of American Villages*.

⁵ In the actual field work this number was reduced to 140, the reduction being due in a few instances to lack of coöperation by the village, or more frequently to the impossibility of fixing a date suitable to both the village leaders and the surveyors. In two instances workers on arrival discovered the village to be so unrepresentative as to warrant dropping the study.

⁶ The states omitted were the six New England states, Ohio, West Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Wyoming, and Nevada. New England was omitted because in a number of the states in this area it is not the custom to incorporate communities until they have become quite large. Thus in Massachusetts and Rhode Island there are no incorporated villages and in New Hampshire only two. Furthermore, the system of determining the rural population is in several of these states different from that employed elsewhere in the United States, see Fry, *American Villagers*, and United States Census. Ohio was not considered because of the many rural surveys already conducted in this state in the last decade. It was felt that West Virginia, lying entirely within the southern mountain region, would present exceptional conditions. Similarly in the other states named there were either an altogether negligible number of people living within agricultural villages or else conditions seemed to be non-typical of the region in which the state lay.

within the same state for criticism. In this way a final list of 177 villages was obtained.⁷ State leaders were also asked to suggest persons of importance in each village in this list. The final selection of 150 of these 177 communities, later reduced as already explained to 140, was made largely as the result of correspondence with these persons of local importance. The map used as a frontispiece shows the location of each of these villages, which are believed to be fairly representative of the agricultural areas of the regions in which they lie. If anything, a majority are a little above the average, as there was a tendency in some states to suggest communities that would reflect credit on the state. In a few instances nominations seemed motivated by the desire to show up a bad situation.

EXTENT OF SAMPLE

As a result of the process described the final number of villages for each major region and their total population do not bear the same ratio to the total number of villages and the total village population in each region.⁸ The exact situation can be expressed in tabular form as is shown in Table 1 on p. 284.

The table shows that, while this survey studied only 140 or 1.38 per cent. of all incorporated villages, it includes more than 2 per cent. of the population residing in such communities. In other words, the average population of the villages studied was larger than the average for all incorporated villages. This was true in every region. Also the sample was overweighted in favor of the Middle Atlantic and far-western regions. Thus two questions are raised: (1) Why was the population of villages studied in the Middle Atlantic and far-western states larger than in the other two regions? (2) Why

⁷ Information and suggestions received from each state were also checked with information in the office of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, notably its own former surveys and those of the Interchurch World Movement, and the characterizations of communities in state gazettes and in Ayers' *Newspaper Annual*.

⁸ The regions used throughout most of this study are the Middle Atlantic, the South, the Middle West, the Pacific and the Range, the last two usually being combined as the Far West because of the small number of villages in the Range. These regions simply combine certain census divisions. Thus the South, as used in this study, includes what the census knows as the South Atlantic, South Central and West South Central states, while the Middle West covers the East North Central and West North Central census divisions. Previous studies by the Institute have shown the validity of the regional divisions used. (Cf. *The Town and Country Church in the United States*, Chapter I, Regional Characteristics.) In Chapters I and IV of this volume dealing with the economic aspects of village life, in addition to the regional division, the villages surveyed have been classified according to the crop areas in which they lie. In this classification the divisions and terminology developed by O. E. Baker, of the United States Department of Agriculture (see *Agricultural Year Books* for 1915 and 1920), have been employed. This additional method of comparing the villages surveyed has been used because it was found, as the discussions show, that while the agricultural environment of a village did not greatly affect its social institutions it did influence its economic life. Hence, for the purposes of these two chapters, both classifications have been employed. A detailed village by village description on the basis of the agricultural environment will be found in Appendix B.

were villages with more than the average population chosen? These questions will be discussed in the order named.

TABLE 1—POPULATION OF VILLAGES SURVEYED AND OF ALL INCORPORATED VILLAGES

Region	Villages Surveyed			Incorporated Villages			Per Cent. Ratio of No. of Villages Surveyed to All Villages	Per Cent. Ratio of Pop. of Villages Surveyed to All Villages
	Number of Villages	Population Total	Average	Number of Villages	Population Total	Average		
Middle Atlantic	28	31,550	1,127	1,014	1,035,710	1,021	2.76	3.05
South	30	40,662	1,355	3,200	2,695,590	842	0.94	1.51
Middle West ..	60	78,577	1,310	4,994	3,854,289	722	1.20	2.04
Far West	22	34,425	1,565	953	840,796	882	2.31	4.09

PROPORTION OF VILLAGES STUDIED

In the two regions in which the sample of villages studied is apparently overweighted, a relatively small proportion of all villages are incorporated. Statistical accuracy in choosing the sample would have resulted in too few cases. The overweighting in the Middle Atlantic states was also due to an attempt to compensate for the omission of New England from the study. A number of the New York villages were selected because it was felt they would reveal conditions somewhat similar to those obtaining in the New England states.

The great variety of conditions to be found in the immense area covered by the eleven states in the Pacific and Range regions made it particularly desirable not to reduce the number of cases too sharply. It was believed that it would be impossible to procure a fair cross section of the social life of far-western villages unless at least from twenty to twenty-five were studied. It was suggested by the advisors, as well as by previous studies of the Institute, that in sections of the Pacific Coast progress had been made toward the satisfactory adjustment of town and country relationships. If this condition were found to be true it was desired to have a sufficient number of cases to give authority to any conclusions drawn. Because of this situation, as well as because of the marked variations on specific items among the regions, national averages and figures have been used only occasionally.

POPULATION OF VILLAGES

Why were villages of more than average population chosen? Advisors of the project felt that the larger villages more nearly

represented the common and continuous elements in village life than did the smaller villages. It appeared more economical to study a given proportion of the village population of the United States in fewer and larger communities than in more and smaller ones. The results secured indicate that this judgment was largely correct. As is shown in Appendix I of *American Villagers* there are no marked differences between small and large villages in the composition of the population.

Furthermore, although the average size of the communities studied is larger than the average of all incorporated villages, one-quarter of the villages studied were smaller than the average for their region, and wherever size appeared to be a factor of importance, the villages were divided into three groups, small, medium and large, having populations respectively of less than 1,000, 1,000 to 1,750 and 1,750 to 2,500, and results were tabulated separately for each size-group.⁹

LOCAL AREA COVERED IN STUDY

That the village could not be totally differentiated from its contiguous rural territory was recognized from the first. All features of village life are not confined exclusively within the incorporated boundaries. Accordingly the investigation included the rural area tributary to each village studied. Special attention was paid to the relationships of the village to this area.¹⁰

Thus the unit of the survey was the village and its community. Church, school and other institutions were surveyed as component parts of a total picture of the village. While a large variety of facts about these institutions were obtained, the emphasis of the study was upon the contribution that they made to the village and the effect that the village had upon them.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Information about the 140 villages studied was procured from two sources, (1) the United States Census, (2) field work. The original plan did not contemplate using the census data, but the field survey had hardly begun when it was determined, if possible, to supplement the material collected by the field workers by an analysis of the 1920 census figures for those villages.

The obvious argument in favor of this plan was that it would supply far more accurate information about the composition and

⁹ In four instances villages were chosen whose population slightly exceeded this limit. The agricultural colleges nominating these places felt that they best illustrated the typical situation of an incorporated community in an agricultural area.

For a further discussion of the effect of size see *American Villagers*, Chapter VI.

¹⁰ How the geographic limits of this rural hinterland were fixed is discussed at length in Chapter II.

characteristics of village populations than could possibly be obtained by field workers.

Such a special tabulation as was desired had not been attempted by a private agency. It was made possible largely through the efforts of Dr. C. J. Galpin, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, through whom was secured permission from the Census Bureau to permit the Institute free access to material, provided the study was conducted by persons who had taken the Government oath of secrecy. The Census Bureau also assisted in securing qualified persons to undertake the necessary clerical work.

Tabulation of the findings presented difficulty. The Institute was not free to use the special machines constructed by the Bureau of the Census for just such tabulations, and faced the alternative of counting more than six million items by hand, or using a commercial machine not suitable for the purpose.

The Institute owes much to Dr. Galpin's good offices which made possible an agreement with the Department of Agriculture, whereby the Institute offered a complete set of all material growing out of the analysis to the Department, and the latter exercised its right as a government department to have the Census Bureau tabulate the data for it on the government machines.¹¹

After this material was secured two additional tabulations were made: (1) The distribution of the marital status of the rural population by divisions for the age periods 45-54 and 55-64, printed in Appendix I of *American Villagers*; (2) for each village the data on debt and taxation similar to that published for all communities above 2,500 in the *Series on Wealth, Public Debt, Taxation: 1922*. This material has been used in Chapters IX and X of this volume.

FIELD WORK

The plan of field work provided for a team of two or three field workers to visit each village selected and spend from ten days to three weeks in the study of each community. Each team was required to fill out elaborate questionnaires designed to secure precise facts for each village. These questionnaires or schedules included information such as:

(1) The Community Schedule covering population, structure, social groups, agricultural conditions, industry, government, banking, charity, health, libraries, social organizations, civic and social life and leadership.

(2) The Church Schedule calling for information in regard to the equipment, finances, membership and program of each church.

(3) A School Schedule designed to secure data on the equipment, enrollment, attendance, faculty, curriculum, social life and general

¹¹ The analysis of the census material is published in *A Census Analysis of American Villages* and *American Villagers*.

community service of each school. For the rural schools a simpler form of this last schedule was used.¹²

In addition to these schedules each field team followed a set of instructions that called for types of information not readily reducible to schedule form and that gave guidance as to the interviews held in every village. On the basis of all information gathered each team was required to submit a detailed write-up of the particular situation found in each village. This report summarized and interpreted the data set down in the questionnaires and included an analysis of the non-statistical material secured from the scores of interviews held in each village.

By thus combining a written analysis with the statistical material of the schedules it was hoped not only to gather strictly comparable data for all villages but also to gain insight into the distinctive problems of each village and the common problems of all.

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA

This plan was supplemented by data drawn from several other sources:

(1) In nine villages more intensive studies were made in which from one to three additional field workers were used. The chief feature of these studies was a house-to-house canvass undertaken in order to ascertain the composition of each household as well as certain social and religious affiliations and attitudes. A special schedule was used for this canvass. In these studies the contiguous rural area was also covered in order to secure comparative data. In one instance the intensive study was directed into historical channels, the surveyors covering as far as possible the socio-economic history of the village from its founding until 1920. The census records for this community were available from 1860 to 1920 inclusive. In addition to the usual field survey considerable time was spent in historical research and in interviews. This study will appear with other case studies in the summary volume of this series. It was originally hoped to have one or two such studies for each region. Unfortunately, a disastrous fire at the Census Bureau a few years ago destroyed all records prior to 1910 for nearly all states. Of those remaining, only one state could be considered as presenting a situation sufficiently normal to furnish a village for such a study.¹³

¹² The information gathered by these schedules did not all prove to be of equal worth. A comparison of the schedules with the text and tables of this volume will show what material was not utilized. The Institute has under way, however, certain supplementary studies which will make use of some of the results not included in this volume.

The interested reader will find the schedules referred to reproduced in the pamphlet *Surveying Your Community*, a previous publication of the Institute (pp. 35 to 50 and 63 to 73).

¹³ The states whose records were saved, six in number, included only two of the older states and one of these was in New England. Efforts were made to add to such studies by the use of census material gathered by states but this was not

(2) In approximately one-half of the villages a questionnaire was submitted to high-school students. The student was asked to name his favorite books and recreations, to tell whether his family traded chiefly in the village, by mail order or in near-by cities, and to state what life work he expected to follow and whether this calling would be pursued in the home village or elsewhere. The students' attitude toward agriculture as a life work was also secured. The replies give some insight into the attitude of these boys and girls toward certain major problems of village life.

(3) Finally, except in the Middle Atlantic region, topics or problems for special investigation on a scale too intensive to be undertaken by every team were assigned to certain field workers. Some of these problems were community boundaries, factors influencing formation of public opinion, public health, and federated and union churches.

This last subject developed such importance that the scope of the investigation was broadened to include a study of many more cases than were found in the 140 villages. The results are published separately.

LOCAL USES OF THE SURVEY

The Institute offered in each village to send back the survey team's report to any responsible community organization or group of leaders desiring to utilize the study in developing a local program. The score or more of villages availing themselves of this offer probably received more benefit from the survey than others. In certain instances very definite social improvements were brought about. No effort was made to stimulate requests for this material.

In a considerable group of cases reports were furnished co-operating educational institutions and these have undertaken a continuing follow-up. They have also utilized the results in formulating their policies for all similar communities. Thus communities not surveyed have been benefited. All told slightly more than half the villages studied have made some practical use of the results.

In some instances only sections of the study have been locally utilized. For instance, the schools and libraries of three communities asked for the tabulation of the answers of the high-school students as to their favorite books. They wished to have this information to use in planning the course in English literature and to help them revise their library policy.

Finally the survey has probably proved of value even to those villages that professed no acute interest in its results, since the survey process can hardly fail to stimulate an interest in self-study.

found to be practicable. The state census data are not completely comparable either with the Federal census or as between two states, and records did not go very far into the past.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is impossible to mention by name all who contributed to the making of the Village Study. The special services of the following should, however, be acknowledged:

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Dr. C. J. Galpin

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Hon. William Steuart, Director

William Hunt, Chief of Population Studies

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Prof. W. L. Bailey

Dr. H. P. Douglass

Dr. C. J. Galpin

Prof. J. H. Kolb

Prof. E. L. Morgan

Rev. H. N. Morse

Rev. Robert Ruff

Prof. Dwight Sanderson

Prof. Paul L. Vogt

Dr. Warren H. Wilson

FIELD WORKERS ¹⁴

Helen Anderson (2)

Helen Belknap (3)

Sabra Briggs (2)

Elizabeth Hooker (1)

Prof. J. H. Kolb (1) ¹⁵

Marjorie Patten (4)

Rachel M. Walp (3)

Elizabeth Wooten (4)

Hubertine Zahorska (3)

STATISTICIANS

Mary Johnson (1923)

Dr. Gwendolyn Hughes (1924-25)

ASSISTANT STATISTICIANS

Elizabeth Clapp

Enid Mack

Acknowledgment should also be made to the Board of Home Missions of the Reformed Church in the United States for the loan of two field workers in each of two summers.

¹⁴ Figures in parentheses indicate number of regions in which individual worked.

¹⁵ Prof. Kolb was released for one-half year by the University of Wisconsin.

APPENDIX B

THE AGRICULTURAL SETTING OF THE 140 VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

AGRICULTURAL production is not uniform throughout the country and there are as many varieties of agricultural villages as there are types of crops. A cotton village in the South differs in many respects from a rural trade center in the spring-wheat belt or one in the specialized fruit sections of California, yet each is quite properly termed an agricultural village. This variety of the agricultural village must be kept in mind constantly as a safeguard against unwarranted generalizations. The sample of 140 villages adequately represents the ten most important crop areas in this country, proportionately more villages having been visited in those sections where agriculture is most extensively developed.

The classification of communities used in the following pages is that developed by Mr. O. E. Baker, of the Federal Department of Agriculture, which, as already indicated in Chapter I, is based upon crops and climatic conditions. The location of the 140 communities visited with reference to agricultural area boundaries is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2—DISTRIBUTION OF 140 VILLAGES BY AGRICULTURAL AREAS

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name of Village</i>
Hay and pasture	38	New York	Afton, Altamont, Boonville, Canisteo, Cattaraugus, Ellicottville, Franklinville, Honeoye Falls, Newport, Phelps, Skaneateles, Sodus, Webster
		Pennsylvania	Benton, Centre Hall, Howard, Linesville, Martinsburg, McConnellsburg, Mercersburg, Middleburg, Mill Hall, Millville, Troy, Wyalusing
		Michigan	Grass Lake, Nashville, Ovid, Scottville
		Wisconsin	Arcadia, Barron, Elkhorn, Fenimore, Medford, Mount Horeb, Waupaca
		Minnesota	Blackduck, Elk River

TABLE 2—DISTRIBUTION OF 140 VILLAGES BY AGRICULTURAL AREAS—(Continued)

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Number of Villages</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Name of Village</i>
Corn	31	Indiana	Argos, Centerville, Flora, Fowler, Liberty,
		Illinois	Eureka, Granville, Metamora, Milford, Oregon
		Minnesota	Wells, Windom
		Iowa	Alta, Battle Creek, Buffalo Center, Bussey, Corning, Grundy Center, La Porte City, Marathon, Moville, Strawberry Point, Winfield
		Missouri	Hardin, Lathrop
		Nebraska	Fairfield, Geneva, Humboldt, Stromsburg, Walthill, Weeping Water
Corn and winter wheat	19	Pennsylvania	Halifax, Richland, Spring Grove
		Maryland	Thurmont
		Delaware	Georgetown
		Virginia	Berryville, Bowling Green
		Kentucky	Columbia, Marion
		Illinois	West Salem
		Missouri	Puxico, Warrenton
		Kansas	Cheney, Clearwater, Inman, Marion, Mount Hope, Mulvane, Oxford
Cotton	23	Virginia	Smithfield
		North Carolina	Burgaw, Carthage, Clarkton, Hertford, Nashville, Pittsboro
		South Carolina	Edgefield, St. Matthews
		Georgia	Bethlehem, Hampton, Pavo
		Alabama	Arab, Fayette, Hartsells
		Mississippi	Brooksville, Poplarville
		Arkansas	Nashville, Tillar
		Texas	Granger, Leonard, Waelder
		Missouri	East Prairie
Spring wheat ...	5	Minnesota	Litchfield
		North Dakota	Casselton, Grafton, Mayville, Oakes
Great Plains ...	4	Texas	Donna, Haskell
		Colorado	Akron, Burlington
Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Plateaus .	6	Colorado	Delta
		Idaho	Emmett, Parma
		Washington	Garfield, Goldendale
		Oregon	Condon
North Pacific ...	5	Washington	Ferndale, Ridgefield
		Oregon	Clatskania, Cottage Grove, Riddle
South Pacific ...	9	California	Banning, Corning, Exeter, Fowler, Gridley, Lompoc, Oakdale, Paso Robles, San Jacinto

THE HAY-AND-PASTURE AREA

The thirty-eight hay-and-pasture communities, combining portions of the Middle Atlantic and middle-western states represent every phase of the varied agricultural operations carried on in this crop area. Dairy farming is the most universal occupation and is well developed everywhere, except in a few of the Pennsylvania communities where it is just beginning. In these communities wheat and oats have been the farmers' chief crops in the past. In two New York communities, Sodus and Phelps, practically no dairying was carried on because of specialization in vegetable raising. Poultry raising is rather general throughout the hay-and-pasture area but is done commercially only in a few New York communities, notably Afton, Phelps and Sodus. Stock-raising is of some importance in the three western states of this area, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Potatoes are mentioned by many villages as a crop of considerable value, but four places, Elk River, Minnesota; Barron and Waupaca, Wisconsin, and Nashville, Michigan, are located in the

TABLE 3—AREA OF COMMUNITY AND DENSITY OF COUNTRY POPULATION BY AGRICULTURAL AREA

<i>Agricultural Area</i>	<i>Number of Communities</i>	<i>Average Area of Community in Square Miles</i>	<i>Number of Persons to Square Mile in Country</i>
Hay and pasture	38	69.1	26.63
Corn	31	86.4	17.36
Corn and winter wheat	19	72.9	19.19
Cotton	23	106.5	30.13
Spring wheat	5	185.2	8.94
Great Plains	4	426.5	4.98
Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Plateaus	6	253.2	7.57
North Pacific	5	188.8	9.37
South Pacific	9	150.6	12.02

centers of what was in 1920 the area of most concentrated production. Ovid, Michigan, lies in the midst of the sugar-beet region and in the area of greatest bean production, while Afton and Phelps, New York, produce large cabbage crops. Other vegetables are grown for sale extensively in Sodus and Webster, New York; Linesville, Pennsylvania, and Scottville, Michigan. Fruit raising is especially important in the New York communities on the Erie shore and in Wyalusing, Pennsylvania.

The hay-and-pasture region is distinguished from the other areas in that its communities are smaller than those visited elsewhere and that its open-country population is relatively dense, twenty-seven persons to a square mile, a ratio that is exceeded only in the Cotton Belt (see Table 2). It resembles the other fruit-raising area, the South Pacific, in having a low percentage of tenancy. The census

returns for the counties represented by the sample communities in the hay-and-pasture region show a steady decrease in tenancy during the last twenty-five years. The decline in the percentage of tenancy between 1920 and 1925, rather than the increase generally attributed to the agricultural depression, suggests that few owners lost their farms in this area and that the hay-and-pasture region was relatively little affected by the agricultural crisis. The field surveyors who visited each region state that that portion of the hay-and-pasture region included in the Middle Atlantic states was, at the time of the survey, less disrupted by the boom and deflation than any other area.

THE CORN BELT

The products of the thirty-one sample communities in the Corn Belt are remarkably uniform, grain and live stock predominating even where dairying and poultry raising are practiced extensively. Many farmers interviewed throughout this area stated that although corn was their principal crop they did not raise enough for their needs. With the precipitous drop in grain prices since 1920 there has been a tendency to increase dairy production, especially in the communities nearest the hay-and-pasture area. Dairy development in some of these communities means adding a few milch cows to the herd as a more or less temporary expedient rather than scientific production with pure-bred stock. A specific instance of this kind is found in Flora, Indiana, where the average number of milch cows to a farm is seven and the sale of milk brings in a small regular income. Dairying is apparently considered a makeshift pending the return of high grain prices, a point of view expressed definitely by the local farm agent: "The farmer will never milk cows when we get back to normal. He will go back to grain and live stock. Cows are close and tedious work." Poultry is quite generally raised throughout this section and in some places appears to have been developed, like dairying, as a substitute for live stock. In Metamora, Illinois, this tendency has been carried so far that prices are beginning to fall and a return to stock-raising is predicted. Relatively few of these Corn Belt communities have diversified their production by raising fruits and vegetables.¹

Since this area is so predominantly engaged in the production of corn it was natural that it should be deeply affected by the changes in agricultural prices. "We were millionaires in 1919. Today we are broke and most of us don't know it." Such was the verdict of

¹ Cucumbers and cabbages are raised in Argos, Indiana, where a Heinz station collects the produce. Truck gardening, especially watermelons, strawberries and blackberries, has been developed in Metamora, Illinois, where fairly good roads make the Peoria market easily accessible. Sugar beets are raised in Buffalo Center, Iowa, and Wells, Minnesota. There is a commercial apple orchard near Geneva, Nebraska, while Grundy Center, Iowa, formerly enjoyed the reputation of being the greatest potato shipping county in the state.

a farmer in the heart of the Corn Belt, in a community that was said locally to have been more affected by the crisis than any other in Iowa. Table VI, in Chapter I, shows that the percentage of tenant operators is comparatively high in this area (46.6 per cent.) and that it increased more than twice as much in the last five years as during the previous decade. Communities in the Corn Belt are fairly small and their open-country population ranks fourth in average number of persons to a square mile, 17.36.

THE CORN AND WINTER-WHEAT AREA

The nineteen villages studied in the corn and winter-wheat belt appear to be thoroughly representative of the area. Three communities (Spring Grove and Halifax, Pennsylvania, and Thurmont, Maryland) combine general farming of the wheat-corn-oats type with some dairying.² General agriculture in West Salem, Illinois, is diversified by both truck gardening and dairying. Fruit and vegetables are grown extensively in Georgetown, Delaware. Commercial apple orchards were found in some of the Kansas communities. Four communities raise tobacco (Richland, Pennsylvania; Bowling Green, Virginia, and Marion and Columbia, Kentucky). Wheat becomes an increasingly important crop as one travels from east to west in this region. In Missouri and Kansas dairying and sometimes poultry raising supplement the wheat crop and supply the farmer with a cash income. In Mulvane, Kansas, where the Pet Milk Company has its condensery, each farmer has from six to twenty-five cows, but dairying is still a side line and there are very few real dairy farms. The farmers in these Kansas communities apparently are aware of the advantages of diversification but they do not like to bother with live stock and hope that wheat will come back to the high prices very soon. They are said to be moved by the consideration that they would have to forfeit the "six months' loafing period" each year by placing live stock on their farms.

The western part of the corn and winter-wheat belt, the section included in the census region Middle West, is in a position to be adversely affected by the fall in wheat prices attendant upon the crisis of 1920. The eastern half, on the other hand, is less dependent upon a single crop. The small average size of these corn and wheat communities, second only to the hay-and-pasture region, and the comparatively dense open-country population, 19.19 persons to a square mile, are probably accounted for by the nine places in the southern and Middle Atlantic states rather than by the more distinctively wheat raising communities in the three middle-western states.

² In Thurmont some farms specialize in fruit and some in raising goldfish.

THE COTTON BELT

The farmers in the twenty-three communities studied in the Cotton Belt raise corn for their families and live stock as well as vegetables and fruit for home consumption, but cotton is the money crop. Often the standard of life maintained in these rural sections requires relatively little money. The high percentage of tenant operators (59.3 per cent.) and the dense open-country population, both due in part to the number of Negroes, are suggestive of the relatively undeveloped condition of agriculture here. Many farmers have apparently become accustomed to the idea that cotton is the only crop that can be raised for market. Conspicuous exceptions to this generalization were found by the Institute's field workers in some communities, notably Smithfield where ham curing is an important industry; Hertford, North Carolina, with diversified farming and fishing; Columbia, Kentucky, with tobacco; Nashville, Arkansas, with peaches; Carthage, North Carolina, and Poplarville, Mississippi, with lumbering. In other communities the boll weevil has forced diversification of crops. Some have turned to stock raising, others to general or truck farming, while dairying and poultry raising have been partially substituted for cotton culture in some places. The boll weevil, by reducing the cotton output, has kept this area from suffering the sharp price decline for their principal products experienced by some other sections.

THE SPRING-WHEAT AREA

Five communities, one in Minnesota and four in North Dakota, represent the spring-wheat section, consisting of the western counties of Minnesota and the greater part of the Dakotas. Practically half of the spring wheat grown in this country in 1919 was produced in this district. A secondary but important center is located in the sub-humid portions of Washington and Oregon. Almost no fruits or nuts are grown here, while vegetables are raised for home use but not for sale. Although this area lies outside the principal dairying section of the country some butter is made on farms. The specialization in the production of wheat, one of the commodities most seriously affected by the drop in prices in 1920, is reflected in the large average area of these communities and in the relatively sparse population, less than nine persons to a square mile in the open country. The proportion of tenant operators here, 35.1 per cent., is almost exactly midway between the extremes represented by the Cotton Belt and the fruit-growing sections of the Far West. Tenancy has been increasing steadily in this area since 1900. The gain in the last five years is practically identical with the increase during the preceding ten-year period.

THE GREAT PLAINS

Four of the far-western communities, distributed at intervals from the northern part of Colorado to the extreme southern point of Texas, are located in the Great Plains area. Donna is in the citrus fruit belt of Texas; Haskell, just south of the Panhandle section, is now producing cotton, while the two Colorado villages, Akron and Burlington, are located in the dry-farming wheat area. Not one of these communities need go very far back in its history, however, to bring to light the days of the cattle range and wild pasture. The immense communities served by these village centers, averaging more than 425 square miles, and the extremely low density of open-country population, less than four persons on each square mile, are evidence of the unsettled character of the country. Twenty years ago the district surrounding Donna was unsettled. Haskell, once a watering place for Indians, antelopes and buffaloes, the site of cattle corrals and sheep camps, a stop-over on one of the California trails, planted its first crop, ten acres of corn and feed, less than thirty years ago. Akron and Burlington are in the heart of what once was the cattleman's domain, the country where he ruled supreme until about fifteen years ago, literally dominating the economic and social life of the eastern part of Colorado. Then the homesteaders came. After many hardships and failures they evolved the technique of dry farming and have stayed on the land. During the war-time boom their numbers were materially increased by persons who wished to win the war with wheat (See Table V, Chapter I). The boom and depression have apparently been accompanied by severe agricultural adjustments, as indicated by the enormous increase in tenant-operated farms between 1920 and 1925, 26.5 per cent to 45.1 per cent.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN AND ARID INTERMOUNTAIN PLATEAU AREAS

These two categories of the classification formulated by the Department of Agriculture have been combined for the purpose of this discussion. These two far-western areas have been treated as one because five of the six villages studied were practically on the boundary line. Farming communities, even in mountainous regions, are located in relatively flat territory so that the topography of the places visited in both regions was similar. The rainfall is inadequate throughout all of this section, and irrigation and dry farming are practiced both on the plateaus and in the more mountainous districts. The communities in these two areas combined are large, showing an average size of more than 250 square miles, and are second only to the Great Plains communities. The open-country population here is also relatively sparse, again resembling the Great Plains area.

Delta, in western Colorado, and Emmett and Parma, in western Idaho, represent the irrigated portions of the section and their

agricultural products are modified thereby. Delta has been able through this means to develop as an agricultural center for general farming with fruit and vegetables as specialized crops. In Emmett and Parma, Idaho, sheep grazing is the only activity possible without irrigation, but with irrigation fruit raising, poultry raising and dairying are carried on extensively. Garfield, in eastern Washington, and Goldendale and Condon, in the central part of their respective states, on either side of the Washington-Oregon boundary, are in the dry-farming area. Wheat is the principal crop, with some dairying and live stock, especially sheep. These two areas, together with the Great Plains, form the section of the Far West most seriously affected by the crisis in agriculture. In fact, the Great Plains area is generally conceded to have suffered more from this cause than any other section of the country, especially the wheat-producing sections of Montana.

Five places, two in Washington and three in Oregon, make up the sample studied in the North Pacific area. The Washington villages represent the extreme northern and southern portions of the coast region in that state. Both have passed out of the lumbering stage and are now truly farming communities. Dairying is well developed in each, as well as poultry raising and general farming. Neither of these villages is in a fruit-growing center. The three towns visited in western Oregon are not satisfactory specimens of the coast agricultural area because the predominating industry in each is lumbering, while one of the three reports that fishing is also of greater importance as means of livelihood than farming. The counties represented by these five communities more than doubled their wheat acreage between 1910 and 1920, but reduced it during the next four years to less than the 1910 planting.

THE SOUTH PACIFIC AREA

All of the nine California villages studied are in the South Pacific region. They are well distributed throughout the length of this area. Each of these communities illustrates a different phase of the extremely varied agriculture of this area so that virtually no two of them are alike. Each village tends to specialize in one form of production and to pin its faith in future prosperity on this one commodity. It is possible, therefore, to indicate in a word or two the distinctive characteristic of the agriculture of each: Corning, olives; Gridley, rice; Oakdale, an irrigation project settlement with fruit and diversified farming; Fowler, raisins; Exeter, emperor grapes and ranching; Paso Robles, almonds; Lompoc, beans; Banning, prunes, other fruit and health resorts; San Jacinto, dairying in response to the increasing demand of Los Angeles. A few of these villages illustrate clearly the disadvantage of having put all one's eggs in one basket when the price drops suddenly, but no one price drop can affect the whole area, as is the case in the Corn Belt.

The figures shown in Table VII, Chapter I, are not very illuminating for this area because they represent an average of two opposite tendencies, small fruit farms under intensive cultivation and occasional large ranches. The low proportion of tenancy indicated in Table VI, Chapter I, probably reflects the strong tendency toward owner-operation of small fruit farms. Tenancy has decreased here during the last twenty-five years but the movement has not been continuous. The marked decline in tenancy in both the North and South Pacific areas between 1920 and 1925 indicates that relatively few owners lost their farms and were reduced to tenancy and is probably symptomatic of the essentially sound agriculture of the Pacific coast region, in spite of occasional losses in specialized products. The serious disturbance attendant upon the boom in the Far West is not on the coast but inland.

APPENDIX C

DATA REGARDING CHURCHES

TABLE 4—MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE IN CHURCHES OF 25 COUNTIES AND OF 140 VILLAGES

	<i>Counties</i>		<i>Villages</i>	
	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>
Average church membership	108	72	140	73
Average Sunday-school membership	95	58	112	65
Average value of church property	\$6,437.00	\$2,750.00	\$11,937.00	\$2,932.00
Average church budget	1,742.09	698.57	2,290.31	647.56
Total per capita contributions	\$19.33	\$13.35	\$16.89	\$8.07
Salary	7.61	6.28	7.16	3.89
Benevolence	5.62	3.91	5.64	2.59
Upkeep	6.10	3.16	4.09	1.59

The average mission aid to village and country churches in the 25 counties is \$216 and in the villages, \$288; 20 per cent. of the country churches being aided and 11 per cent. of the village churches.

The churches of these villages were about as well organized from a financial point of view as those studied five years ago in the twenty-five counties. In each group half the churches used the annual budget, every-member canvass and envelope system—that trinity of financial orthodoxy in local church administration. The 1,253 village and country churches that had adequate financial records spent \$2,000,000 in the year preceding the survey.

TABLE 5—EXPENDITURES IN PROTESTANT VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Total Expenditures</i>		<i>Salary</i>		<i>Missions and Benevolences</i>		<i>Upkeep</i>	
		<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Capita</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Capita</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Capita</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per Capita</i>
			<i>Village</i>		<i>Village</i>		<i>Village</i>		<i>Village</i>
			\$		\$		\$		\$
All regions	679 *	1,555,195	16.89	677,641	7.16	495,011	5.64	382,543	4.09
Middle Atlantic ..	121	311,183	17.09	119,756	6.58	110,882	6.09	80,545	4.42
South (white) ...	123	309,781	16.33	125,992	6.64	124,661	6.57	59,128	3.12
South (colored) ..	56	35,567	7.17	21,542	4.34	4,767	0.96	9,258	1.87
Middle West	259	666,263	17.81	296,256	7.54	193,082	5.73	176,925	4.54
Far West	120	232,401	19.35	114,095	6.18	61,619	5.13	56,687	4.72

* Incomplete information for 39 churches.

TABLE 5—EXPENDITURES IN PROTESTANT VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES—(Continued)

Region	Number of Churches	Total Expenditures		Salary		Missions and Benevolences		Upkeep	
		Country		Country		Country		Country	
		Total	Per Capita	Total	Per Capita	Total	Per Capita	Total	Per Capita
		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
All regions	574 †	374,214	10.23	180,509	4.94	119,809	3.28	73,896	2.02
Middle Atlantic ..	118	71,151	12.40	33,692	5.97	19,318	3.42	18,141	3.21
South (white) . . .	181	80,571	5.38	43,093	2.88	21,515	1.44	15,963	1.07
South (colored) . .	78	31,069	3.18	20,024	2.05	5,568	0.57	5,477	0.56
Middle West	162	165,315	12.39	70,703	5.30	64,159	4.81	30,453	2.28
Far West	35	26,108	12.33	12,997	6.18	9,249	4.31	3,862	1.84

† Incomplete information for 45 churches.

Per capita contributions to churches are remarkably constant in villages the nation over, nor is there much difference among the country churches except for the South. Among the villages, the far-western churches lead in total contributions and in payments for salary. The Middle Atlantic churches lead in per capita gifts to benevolent causes.

TABLE 6—AMOUNT EXPENDED FOR PASTORAL SERVICES IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	Total Churches	Number of Churches Reporting						
		None	Under \$500	\$500 to \$1,000	\$1,000 to \$1,500	\$1,500 to \$2,000	\$2,000 and Over	Not Known
			Village					
All regions	718 *	38	153	148	158	130	48	43
Middle Atlantic ..	136	3	30	40	24	29	6	4
South	126	3	29	36	16	19	17	6
Middle West	297	11	53	51	96	61	19	6
Far West	159	21	41	21	22	21	6	27
Country								
All regions	528 *	32	341	72	22	2	..	59
Middle Atlantic ..	118	4	89	17	4	..	..	4
South	186	3	128	14	1	..	..	40
Middle West	177	4	109	33	14	2	..	15
Far West	47	21	15	8	3	..	..	..

* The 153 colored churches are excluded as their financial information is incomplete.

Four out of every five country churches in village communities pay \$500 or less for pastoral service. The minister must either serve a number of churches or have another occupation. Half of the village churches pay less than \$1,000 a year.

TABLE 7—AVERAGE SALARY PAID TO RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT PASTORS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	<i>All Pastors</i>		<i>Resident</i>				<i>Non-Resident</i>	
	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Average Salary</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Village and Country</i>	<i>Average Salary</i>
	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Average Salary</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Average Salary</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Average Salary</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Average Salary</i>
All regions	608	\$1,441	417	\$1,592	50	\$1,014	141	\$1,148
Middle Atlantic.	64	1,506	51	1,624	4	775	9	1,165
South	148	1,456	83	1,765	11	960	54	1,081
Middle West ...	302	1,435	206	1,556	31	1,110	65	1,208
Far West	94	1,396	77	1,480	4	658	13	1,122

Average salaries for resident ministers have increased in the last five years. As in the National Study, the South leads. Salaries of non-resident pastors have remained almost stationary. These averages do not include the value of rent for free parsonage where available.

TABLE 8—AVERAGE VALUATION OF PROPERTY IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	Total No. of Churches	Churches Reporting Buildings				Churches Reporting Parsonages			
		Number	Average Value	None	No Information	Number	Average Value	None	No Information
Village									
All regions	780	710	\$11,937	37	33	466	\$3,841	242	72
Middle Atlantic.	137	126	16,811	3	8	98	4,038	21	18
South (white) ..	126	124	13,691	..	2	76	4,219	42	8
South (colored) .	57	55	2,778	2	..	17	1,365	32	8
Middle West ...	299	281	12,189	12	6	210	4,027	72	17
Far West	161	124	8,721	20	17	65	3,149	75	21
Country									
All regions	619	543	\$2,932	11	65	134	\$2,058	325	160
Middle Atlantic.	120	103	3,084	2	15	26	2,084	63	31
South (white) ..	186	176	1,980	..	10	27	1,241	105	54
South (colored) .	88	69	1,700	..	19	8	1,038	50	30
Middle West ...	178	166	4,490	4	8	58	2,710	88	32
Far West	47	29	2,184	5	13	15	1,603	19	13

The churches covered in this investigation own property in excess of \$12,500,000. Eighty per cent. of this is represented by church buildings, 15 per cent. by parsonages and 5 per cent. by other buildings such as parochial schools and community houses.

The village church of the Middle Atlantic has the highest average valuation, the church of the Far West the lowest. Among the country churches the Middle West and South occupy first and last positions respectively. The

same order is observed when comparing the results of the study of 25 counties. Here the similarity ends. The village church value in this study exceeds the other, doubtless because in the other study more small communities of little more than hamlet size were included, thus bringing down the average. The reverse tendency is observed with the country churches. The 25 counties included all country churches, the village study only those contiguous to the village. These figures then are another indication that the country church fares better when freed from competition with the village.

TABLE 9—HOME-MISSION AID IN WHITE PROTESTANT VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	Number of Communities with Aided Churches		Number of Aided Churches		Home-Mission Aid			
	Vil- lage	Coun- try	Vil- lage	Coun- try	Total		Average	
					Vil- lage	Coun- try	Vil- lage	Coun- try
All regions	71	35	92	63	\$32,171	\$12,464	\$350	\$198
Middle Atlantic..	12	7	15	17	4,261	2,634	284	155
South	18	9	19	24	6,322	3,567	333	149
Middle West	26	14	38	13	13,930	2,391	367	184
Far West	15	5	20	9	7,658	3,872	383	430

TABLE 10—AVERAGE ENROLLMENT AND ATTENDANCE IN PROTESTANT SUNDAY SCHOOLS OF VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Number of Sunday Schools Village</i>	<i>No Sunday Schools</i>	<i>Average Enrollment</i>	<i>Average Attendance</i>
All regions	710	651	59	111	77
Middle Atlantic	122	114	8	144	86
South (white)	123	118	5	126	84
South (colored)	57	54	3	52	34
Middle West	265	242	23	108	82
Far West	143	123	20	98	69
<i>Country</i>					
All regions	606	488	118	67	42
Middle Atlantic	120	103	117	67	39
South (white)	184	144	40	67	46
South (colored) ...	88	74	14	53	37
Middle West	169	134	35	74	53
Far West	45	33	12	51	21

TABLE 11—NUMBER OF STUDENTS FROM VILLAGE AND COUNTRY SUNDAY SCHOOLS ENTERING MINISTRY AND MISSION FIELDS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Last 10 Years</i>				<i>Last 5 Years</i>			
	<i>Village</i>		<i>Country</i>		<i>Village</i>		<i>Country</i>	
	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>
All regions	169	319	67	97	129	230	49	65
Middle Atlantic ..	48	95	23	27	35	61	20	21
South (white) ...	30	54	12	18	22	35	6	9
South (colored) ..	4	6	5	10	3	5	3	5
Middle West	73	145	22	38	59	116	17	26
Far West	14	19	5	4	10	13	3	4

In the tables that follow the more important basic facts in regard to the 1,399 churches covered in this study are given. No extended comment has been made as the facts are similar to many discovered in previous studies by the Institute of the church situation in rural America and published in *The Town and Country Church in the United States* and *Diagnosing the Rural Church*, with which books comparisons are frequently made.

TABLE 12—NUMBER OF CHURCHES BY CREED AND COLOR

Region	Number of Villages	Total Churches		White Protestant		Roman Catholic		Negro Protestant	
		Village	Country	Village	Country	Village	Country	Village	Country
		Number							
All regions	140	780	619	648	515	70	13	62	91
Middle Atlantic..	28	137	120	121	118	15	..	1	2
South	30	183	274	123	184	3	2	57	88
Middle West	60	299	178	263	168	34	9	2	1
Far West	22	161	47	141	45	18	2	2	..
Per Cent.									
All regions		55.8	44.2	55.7	44.3	84.3	15.7	40.5	59.5
Middle Atlantic ..		53.3	46.7	50.6	49.4	100.0	....	33.3	66.7
South		40.0	60.0	40.1	59.9	60.0	40.0	39.3	60.7
Middle West		62.7	37.3	61.0	39.0	79.1	20.9	66.7	33.3
Far West		77.4	22.6	75.8	24.2	90.0	10.0	100.0	....

TABLE 13—DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	Village Churches						Country Churches			
	Number of Villages	Population	Total	Per Village	Per 1,000 Population	No. of Coun-try Areas	Population	Total	Per Coun-try Area	Per 1,000 Population
Small Villages										
All regions ...	47	33,234	203	4.3	6.1	36 *	57,492	226	6.3	3.9
Middle Atlantic	14	10,687	64	4.6	6.0	12	17,248	75	6.3	4.3
South	10	6,033	46	4.6	7.6	9	22,566	84	9.3	3.7
Middle West ..	18	13,193	70	3.9	5.3	11	12,286	52	4.7	4.2
Far West	5	3,321	23	4.6	6.9	4	5,392	15	3.8	2.8
Medium Villages										
All regions ...	58	75,341	291	5.0	3.9	49 *	100,693	228	4.7	2.3
Middle Atlantic	10	12,899	46	4.6	2.6	7	14,200	29	4.1	2.0
South	10	13,267	57	5.7	4.3	9	28,314	97	10.8	3.4
Middle West ..	30	39,349	138	4.6	3.5	27	48,204	87	3.2	1.8
Far West	8	9,826	50	6.3	5.1	6	9,975	15	2.5	1.5
Large Villages										
All regions ...	35	76,639	286	8.2	3.7	33 *	86,920	165	5.0	1.9
Middle Atlantic	4	7,964	27	6.8	3.4	4	7,987	16	4.0	2.0
South	10	21,362	80	8.0	3.7	10	35,401	93	9.3	2.6
Middle West ..	12	26,035	91	7.6	3.5	11	27,204	39	3.5	1.4
Far West	9	21,278	88	9.8	4.1	8	16,328	17	2.1	1.0

* No churches outside 5 villages in Middle Atlantic, 2 in South, 11 in Middle West, and 4 in Far West.

TABLE 14—RESIDENT MEMBERSHIP IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	Number of Churches	White Protestant Membership		Number of Churches	Negro Protestant Membership		Number of Churches	Roman Catholic Membership	
		Total	Average		Total	Average		Total	Average
Village									
All regions ...	639 *	89,363	140	62	5,130	83	68	19,519	287
Middle Atlantic	121	18,303	151	1	17	17	13	3,558	274
South	123	18,968	154	57	5,067	89	3	887	296
Middle West ..	261	39,792	153	2	28	14	34	11,170	328
Far West	134	12,300	92	2	18	9	18	3,904	217
Country									
All regions ...	503	36,564	73	81	9,512	117	13	1,746	134
Middle Atlantic	115	5,900	51	2	28	14	..	....	...
South	184	14,984	81	78	9,449	121	2	452	226
Middle West ..	166	13,579	82	1	35	35	9	1,124	125
Far West	38	2,101	55	..	....	...	2	170	85

* Information is incomplete for 9 white Protestant churches

TABLE 15—ACTIVE AND INACTIVE MEMBERS OF VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES *

Region	Total Members	Total	Resident		Non-Resident	Per Cent. Ratio of Non-Resident to Total Membership	Per Cent. Ratio of Inactive to Resident Membership
			Active	Inactive			
All regions ...	141,094	125,927	103,374	22,553	15,167	10.8	17.9
Middle Atlantic	27,392	24,203	19,672	4,531	3,189	11.6	18.7
South	39,109	33,952	26,390	7,562	5,157	13.2	22.3
Middle West ..	58,619	53,371	46,346	7,025	5,248	9.0	13.2
Far West	15,974	14,401	10,966	3,435	1,573	9.9	23.9

* Figures as reported by churches.

Note the varying proportions of inactive and non-resident members. The Middle West leads in the proportion of net active members on the total roll.

TABLE 16—RESIDENT MEMBERSHIP IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

		Per Cent. of Churches Reporting Membership as						
Region	Number of Churches	Less than 50	50 to 100	100 to 150	150 to 200	200 to 250	250 and over	Not Known
		Village						
All regions	780	25.5	23.5	13.6	11.7	7.3	17.0	1.4
Middle Atlantic..	137	17.5	27.0	10.2	14.6	11.7	19.0	..
South	183	25.7	27.9	12.0	10.9	7.1	15.8	0.6
Middle West ...	299	20.1	21.1	15.7	13.7	8.0	20.4	1.0
Far West	161	42.2	19.9	14.3	6.2	2.5	10.6	4.3
		Country						
All regions	619	43.3	30.2	10.3	6.6	2.3	3.7	3.6
Middle Atlantic..	129	61.7	26.7	4.1	2.5	..	..	5.0
South	274	31.0	36.5	16.1	7.3	2.9	4.7	1.5
Middle West ...	178	46.6	25.3	6.8	10.1	2.8	4.5	3.9
Far West	47 *	55.3	21.3	6.4	....	2.1	4.3	10.6

* Base less than 100.

TABLE 17—DENOMINATIONS OF VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Denominations	Total	Village	Country
Total	1,399	780	619
Protestant	1,288	686	602
Baptist	188	78	110
Northern Baptist Convention	70	42	28
Southern Baptist Convention	110	35	75
General Baptist Convention	4	1	3
Free Will Baptist	3	..	3
United Baptist	1	..	1
Other Immersionist	120	81	39
Christian	50	33	17
Church of Christ	27	18	9
Disciples of Christ	8	5	3
Church of the Brethren	13	6	7
Progressive Brethren	3	2	1
Dunker Brethren	1	1	..
Seventh Day Adventist	18	16	2
Lutheran	122	69	53
English	89	51	38
Norwegian	31	16	15
Danish	2	2	..
Other Liturgical	79	58	21
Reformed in America	21	13	8
Reformed in United States	4	1	3
Christian Reformed	2	1	1

TABLE 17—DENOMINATIONS OF VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES—(Continued)

<i>Denominations</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>
Episcopal	46	40	6
Moravian	5	2	3
Bohemian Brethren	1	1	..
Emotional	79	48	31
Land Mark Baptist	1	..	1
Assembly of God	3	3	..
Pentecostal	9	7	2
Church of God	15	10	5
Holiness	8	3	5
International Bible Association	3	2	1
Four-Square Gospel	1	..	1
Russellite	1	1	..
Our Mission	1	1	..
The Church	3	1	2
Unity and Truth	1	1	..
Jesus' Way	1	..	1
Christian Alliance	1	1	..
Nazarene	18	16	2
Primitive Baptist	8	..	8
River Brethren	1	1	..
Followers	1	..	1
Apostolic Mission	1	..	1
Holy Roller	1	..	1
Full Gospel	1	1	..
Methodist	293	138	155
Methodist Episcopal	185	98	87
Free Methodist	12	7	5
Wesleyan Methodist	6	2	4
Methodist Protestant	11	2	9
Methodist Episcopal, South	79	29	50
Negro Churches	153	62	91
Christian	3	1	2
Episcopal	2	2	..
Church of God	2	1	1
Methodist Episcopal, South	1	1	..
Presbyterian United States of America..	3	2	1
Colored Methodist Episcopal	20	8	12
National Baptist	81	29	52
African Methodist Episcopal	40	18	22
Congregational	1	..	1
Presbyterian	108	84	24
Presbyterian, United States of America	62	53	9
Presbyterian, United States	37	24	13
United Presbyterian	6	4	2
Cumberland Presbyterian	3	3	..
Other Protestant	146	68	78
Evangelical	39	12	27
Congregational	19	18	1
Federated Union	19	5	14

TABLE 17—DENOMINATIONS OF VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES—(Continued)

<i>Denominations</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>
Christian Union	1	1	..
Unitarian	1	..	1
Universalist	2	2	..
United Evangelical	2	1	1
Scandinavian Evangelical	12	8	4
Swedish Mission	1	1	..
United Brethren	29	10	19
Mennonite	11	5	6
Friends	4	2	2
Community Churches	3	2	1
Chapels	3	1	2
Non-Protestant	111	94	17
Roman Catholic	83	70	13
Church of Christ, Scientist	16	16	..
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	7	4	3
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ ...	4	3	1
Apostolic Church of Armenia	1	1	..

TABLE 18—PASTORAL SERVICE IN WHITE PROTESTANT VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	Total Number of Churches	Churches That Have				
		Resident Pastors		Non-Resident	Vacant	Not Known
		Full-Time	Part-Time	Pastors	Churches	
Village						
All regions	648	268	210	77	54	39
Middle Atlantic ..	121	44	51	14	8	4
South	123	38	52	17	14	2
Middle West	263	128	77	22	16	20
Far West	141	58	30	24	16	13
Country						
All regions	515	42	87	287	53	46
Middle Atlantic ..	118	5	21	64	10	18
South	184	2	30	120	16	16
Middle West	168	26	32	91	15	4
Far West	45	9	4	12	12	8

The Middle Atlantic and southern country churches have the lowest percentage of full-time resident pastors and the highest percentage of non-resident pastors.

TABLE 19—TRAINING OF RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT PASTORS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

<i>Residence</i>	<i>Total Pastors</i>	<i>Pastors Reporting Training as</i>				<i>All Others</i>
		<i>Total</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Seminary</i>	<i>College and Seminary</i>	
Total	811	509	115	110	284	302
Resident	564	393	85	78	230	171
Village churches ..	496	358	77	67	214	138
Country churches ..	68	35	8	11	16	33
Non-resident	247	116	30	32	54	131

TABLE 20—LENGTH OF PASTORATE IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Per Cent. of Churches Reporting Length of Pastorate as										
Region	Number of Churches	Less Than One Year	One Year	Two Years	Three Years	Four Years	Five Years	Six Years and Over	Per Cent. Pastorless	Per Cent. Not Known
Village										
All regions ...	780	19.2	14.1	16.4	11.5	7.4	4.6	11.9	6.9	8.0
Middle Atlantic	137	11.7	16.8	14.6	14.6	5.1	5.8	13.9	5.8	11.7
South (white).	126	19.1	19.1	14.3	8.7	10.3	3.2	7.9	11.1	6.3
South (colored)	57	26.3	8.8	28.1	14.0	7.0	1.8	8.8	....	5.2
Middle West..	299	17.4	12.4	16.4	13.4	7.7	5.7	16.4	5.3	5.3
Far West	161	26.7	13.1	15.5	6.8	6.8	3.8	5.6	9.9	11.8
Country										
All regions ...	619	14.7	11.6	12.0	9.5	5.3	3.6	17.3	8.6	17.4
Middle Atlantic	120	15.0	13.3	13.3	10.0	6.7	2.5	12.5	8.3	18.4
South (white).	186	13.9	11.3	8.6	7.0	4.3	3.8	18.8	8.6	23.7
South (colored)	88 *	13.6	8.0	11.4	13.6	4.6	3.4	15.9	....	29.5
Middle West..	178	15.2	14.0	14.0	10.7	6.7	4.5	21.4	8.4	5.1
Far West	47 *	17.0	6.4	14.9	6.4	2.1	2.1	10.6	25.6	14.9

* Base less than 100.

This table is an index to the labor turnover among ministers. The average length of pastorate is barely two years.

TABLE 21—RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Churches Reporting Services as</i>				<i>No Information</i>
		<i>Sunday and Mid-week</i>	<i>Sunday Only</i>	<i>Not Every Sunday</i>	<i>Village</i>	
All regions	780	393	181	185		21
Middle Atlantic ..	137	87	34	11		5
South (white) ...	126	56	11	56		3
South (colored) ..	57	12	2	40		3
Middle West	299	155	88	49		7
Far West	161	83	46	29		3

TABLE 21—RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES—(Continued)

Region	Total	Churches Reporting Services as			
		<i>Sunday and Mid-week</i>	<i>Sunday Only</i>	<i>Not Every Sunday</i>	<i>No Information</i>
			<i>Country</i>		
All regions	619	64	140	371	44
Middle Atlantic ..	120	21	37	62	..
South (white) ...	186	4	10	147	25
South (colored)..	88	1	3	66	18
Middle West	178	25	67	85	1
Far West	47	13	23	11	..

TABLE 22—ATTENDANCE INTEREST IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	Total Population	Resident Membership	Average Monthly Attendance for Each		
			<i>Monthly Attendance</i>	<i>Person</i>	<i>Resident Member</i>
			<i>Village</i>		
All regions	185,214	88,444	434,929	2.3	4.9
Middle Atlantic ..	31,550	18,186	66,836	2.1	3.7
South	40,662	29,929	95,067	2.3	3.2
Middle West	78,577	39,282	235,978	3.0	6.0
Far West	34,425	12,008	56,708	1.6	4.7
			<i>Country</i>		
All regions	273,460	46,029	116,184	0.4	3.5
Middle Atlantic ..	41,808	5,643	16,184	0.4	2.9
South	90,225	24,950	43,444	0.5	1.7
Middle West	100,682	13,333	50,184	0.5	3.8
Far West	40,745	2,103	6,372	0.2	3.0

The average attendance interest for each person, 2.3, is practically what Dr. Fry found in his study based on 96 counties surveyed by the Interchurch World Movement. See *Diagnosing the Rural Church*, by C. Luther Fry.

TABLE 23—NUMBER OF PREACHING POINTS SERVED BY PASTORS

Region	Total	Pastors Serving						
		<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>Four</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Six</i>	<i>Seven and Over</i>
								<i>No In- formation</i>
All regions	811	323	187	124	71	37	18	43
Middle Atlantic ..	151	40	44	19	20	11	10	7
South	214	37	43	45	31	22	7	24
Middle West	338	168	86	48	19	4	1	10
Far West	108	78	14	12	1	..	..	2

TABLE 24—AVERAGE NUMBER OF PREACHING POINTS SERVED BY RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT PASTORS

Region	Village		Resident Country		Non-Resident	
	Number of Pastors	Average Number of Points Served	Number of Pastors	Average Number of Points Served	Number of Pastors	Average Number of Points Served
All regions	484 *	1.6	57 †	2.1	227 ‡	3.1
Middle Atlantic ...	90	2.5	8	2.5	46	2.8
South	99	2.5	13	3.4	78	3.6
Middle West	215	1.6	30	1.6	83	3.0
Far West	80	1.3	6	1.1	20	2.2

* 12 no information.

† 20 no information.

‡ 11 no information.

TABLE 25—AGE-DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE PROTESTANT RESIDENT MEMBERSHIP IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	Total *	Male			Female		
		Under 21	21 to 45	45 and Over	Under 21	21 to 45	45 and Over
		Village Members of Village Churches					
Middle Atlantic ..	12,882	945	2,100	2,058	1,362	3,114	3,303
South	14,119	1,425	2,527	2,091	1,953	3,401	2,722
Middle West	25,072	2,166	3,722	3,804	3,171	5,879	6,330
Far West	7,145	721	993	930	1,078	1,839	1,584
Country Members of Village Churches							
Middle Atlantic ..	5,183	407	912	819	546	1,252	1,247
South	4,836	470	910	703	638	1,214	901
Middle West	12,904	1,436	2,902	1,650	1,693	3,221	2,002
Far West	4,374	532	714	629	673	998	828
Village Members of Country Churches							
Middle Atlantic ..	236	17	40	48	16	48	67
South	215	17	46	33	19	47	53
Middle West	502	30	86	105	51	105	125
Far West	28	2	5	3	2	6	10
Country Members of Country Churches							
Middle Atlantic ..	5,513	518	1,013	941	636	1,231	1,174
South	11,308	1,194	2,279	1,499	1,711	2,880	1,745
Middle West	12,737	1,485	2,606	1,814	1,679	3,033	2,120
Far West	1,403	235	255	188	220	293	212

* Residence and sex were reported as unknown for 389 members in the Middle Atlantic, 3,474 in the South, 2,156 in the Middle West, and 1,451 in the Far West.

TABLE 26—AGE-DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION AND OF CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 117 VILLAGES

Region	Total	Male				Female			
	Total	10 to	21 to	45 and	Total	10 to	21 to	45 and	
	Male	21	45	Over	Female	21	45	Over	
	Population								
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Middle Atlantic	23,896	46.4	9.3	18.3	18.8	53.6	10.7	20.5	22.4
South (white) .	19,571	48.6	13.3	21.1	14.2	51.4	14.5	23.3	13.6
South (colored)	5,036	44.9	14.4	18.8	11.7	55.1	17.4	25.8	11.9
Middle West ..	63,097	48.2	11.2	18.4	18.6	51.8	12.4	21.0	18.4
Far West	27,679	51.4	11.3	22.7	17.4	48.6	12.5	21.9	14.2
Membership									
Middle Atlantic	11,340	39.6	7.5	16.0	16.1	60.4	10.5	23.7	26.2
South (white) .	10,139	43.2	9.8	18.6	14.8	56.8	13.0	25.6	18.2
South (colored)	1,630	37.7	7.8	17.0	12.9	62.3	15.7	24.6	22.0
Middle West ..	27,868	39.6	9.4	15.1	15.1	60.4	13.2	23.0	24.2
Far West	7,833	37.7	10.8	14.0	12.9	62.3	15.1	25.4	21.8

TABLE 27—PROPORTION OF CHURCH-MEMBERS IN TOTAL POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 117 VILLAGES, BY AGE AND SEX

Region	Total	Male				Female			
	Total	10 to	21 to	45 and	Total	10 to	21 to	45 and	
	Male	21	45	Over	Female	21	45	Over	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Middle Atlantic.	47.5	40.6	38.1	41.6	40.8	53.4	46.8	54.7	55.4
South (white) ..	51.8	46.0	38.2	45.6	54.1	57.3	46.7	56.9	69.2
South (colored)	32.4	27.2	17.5	29.4	35.7	36.6	29.3	30.8	59.6
Middle West ..	44.2	36.2	37.1	36.3	35.7	51.6	46.9	48.5	58.2
Far West	28.3	20.7	27.1	17.4	21.0	36.3	34.2	32.7	43.6

TABLE 28—ORGANIZATIONS IN VILLAGE AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

Region	Number of Churches		Number of Organizations				
	Reporting	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Mixed
All regions	990	2,437	92	1,263	33	153	896
Middle Atlantic ..	203	479	13	268	6	34	158
South (white) ...	173	432	10	188	10	40	184
South (colored) ..	101	178	4	102	..	3	69
Middle West	386	1,034	49	581	6	51	347
Far West	127	314	16	124	11	25	138

APPENDIX D

FINANCES OF SMALL AND LARGE MUNICIPALITIES

TABLE 29—TOTAL TAXES COLLECTED PER CAPITA, IN ALL MUNICIPALITIES OF LESS THAN 100,000 POPULATION, 1922

Data from United States Bureau of the Census, Table 3, "Taxes Collected."
Wealth, Public Debt and Taxation: 1922

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>All Regions*</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Far West</i>
136 places less than 2,500 ..	\$10.81	\$ 8.39	\$ 8.49	\$11.77	\$14.29
All places less than 2,500 ..	10.41	10.83	7.02	10.71	13.17
2,500 to 8,000	14.80	11.51	11.88	13.66	16.25
8,000 to 30,000	17.80	14.74	14.97	15.36	18.81
30,000 to 100,000	22.69	23.40	17.68	18.70	24.68

* Total tax includes general property tax, licenses, permits and special assessments.

TABLE 30—PERCENTAGE-DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL REVENUE BY SOURCE FOR ALL MUNICIPALITIES OF LESS THAN 100,000 POPULATION, 1922

Data from United States Bureau of the Census, Table 3, "Taxes Collected."
Wealth, Public Debt and Taxation: 1922

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>Total Tax %</i>	<i>General Property Tax* %</i>	<i>Licenses and Permits %</i>	<i>Special Assessments %</i>
136 places less than 2,500	100.0	81.5	4.0	14.5
All places less than 2,500	100.0	83.4	4.4	12.2
2,500 to 8,000	100.0	82.6	4.6	12.8
8,000 to 30,000	100.0	84.3	4.2	11.5
30,000 to 100,000	100.0	84.0	4.7	11.3

* Includes special taxes and poll taxes.

TABLE 31—TOTAL DEBT PER CAPITA OF ALL MUNICIPALITIES OF LESS THAN 100,000 POPULATION, 1922

Data from United States Bureau of the Census, Table 7, "Public Debt."
Wealth, Public Debt and Taxation: 1922

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>All Regions</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Middle West</i>	<i>Far West</i>
136 places less than 2,500 ..	\$34.83	\$20.54	\$33.89	\$32.61	\$57.26
All places less than 2,500 ..	31.42	30.26	28.23	28.44	58.06
2,500 to 8,000	42.73	33.80	53.27	39.24	60.05
8,000 to 30,000	45.46	38.47	62.62	38.78	60.50
30,000 to 100,000	56.29	66.23	68.77	36.71	65.45

TABLE 32—NUMBER AND POPULATION OF ALL MUNICIPALITIES IN FOUR STATES WHOSE EXPENDITURES ARE ANALYZED*

Size of Municipality	New York		Wisconsin		Iowa		California	
	Num- ber	Popu- lation	Num- ber	Popu- lation	Num- ber	Popu- lation	Num- ber	Popu- lation
<i>Incorporated Places, Less than 100,000 Population</i>								
All places less than 250 .....	...	.....	..	....	217	36,751	..	.....
All places 250 to 2,500	355	349,014	..	....	603	440,930	142	171,059
Selected places 250 to 2,500 ..	13	17,227	6	9,646	11	121,921	9	14,760
2,500 to 8,000	102	414,859	1	2,839	60	245,398	77	326,314
8,000 to 30,000	37	563,650	..	....	14	218,576	19	280,905
30,000 to 100,000	14	702,068	..	....	6	285,053	8	422,359
<i>Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>								
All places 250 to 1,000	211	120,079	..	....	475	248,097	66	45,131
Selected places 250 to 1,000 ..	4	3,232	..	....	5	3,742	1	945
1,000 to 1,750	94	123,659	..	....	95	118,664	43	66,561
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ..	6	7,865	4	5,774	5	6,610	4	6,358
1,750 to 2,500	50	105,276	..	....	33	67,477	28	59,367
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ..	3	6,130	2	3,872	1	1,840	4	7,457

* The fiscal year of municipal governments in New York begins on March 1 for all places of less than 8,000 population, and for all places over 8,000 it coincides with the calendar year. The fiscal year in Iowa begins on April 1. In California the fiscal year begins on July 1 of the preceding year. The data used in the following tables are for the fiscal year 1922 for the states of New York, Iowa and Wisconsin and for the fiscal year 1923 for the state of California. All per capita figures are based on the population for 1920 as reported by the Bureau of the Census. For New York cities (2) of less than 8,000 population and villages of more than 8,000 population are excluded.

TABLE 33—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR ALL PURPOSES OF MUNICIPALITIES, IN FOUR STATES, 1922*

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>Iowa</i>	<i>California</i>
<i>Incorporated Places, Less than 100,000 Population</i>				
All places less than 250 .....	.....	.....	\$ 6.20	.....
Selected places 250 to 2,500 ...	\$17.45	\$18.82	10.14	\$23.62
250 to 2,500	16.31	....	13.28	26.11
2,500 to 8,000	17.10	....	14.17	26.87
8,000 to 30,000	35.17	....	15.54	26.49
30,000 to 100,000	49.11	....	21.27	34.34
<i>Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>				
All places 250 to 1,000	13.68	....	10.64	30.50
Selected places 250 to 1,000 ...	33.06	....	11.30	10.65
1,000 to 1,750	14.92	....	17.49	23.42
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ..	16.34	13.75	9.34	16.74
1,750 to 2,500	20.96	....	15.71	25.80
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ..	10.84	29.73	10.69	32.74

* The total for Iowa includes such items as transfers and refunds which are credit items rather than real expenditures, i.e., an expenditure only from the point of view of an accountant. It is impossible to get these items separately and to subtract them from the total. New York cities over 8,000 include schools under education.

TABLE 34—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR GENERAL GOVERNMENT BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN FOUR STATES, 1922

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>Iowa*</i>	<i>California</i>
<i>Incorporated Places, Less than 100,000 Population</i>				
All places 250 to 2,500	\$1.15	....	\$1.29	\$2.39
Selected places 250 to 2,500	0.77	\$1.67	1.13	1.63
2,500 to 8,000	1.33	....	1.39	2.03
8,000 to 30,000	2.14	....	1.77	2.39
30,000 to 100,000	2.45	....	1.40	2.10
<i>Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>				
All places 250 to 1,000	0.98	....	1.27	2.92
Selected places 250 to 1,000	0.83	....	1.42	1.02
1,000 to 1,750	1.00	....	1.05	2.35
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ..	0.92	1.44	1.04	1.24
1,750 to 2,500	1.50	....	1.85	2.03
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ...	0.56	1.97	0.84	2.03

* In this and in other tables of this section, expenditures for Iowa include not only current expenses but also outlays for permanent improvements. The expenditures for all other states cover current expenses only.

TABLE 35—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR PROTECTION OF PERSONS AND PROPERTY BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN FOUR STATES, 1922

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>Iowa</i>	<i>California</i>
<i>Incorporated Places, Less than 100,000 Population</i>				
All places 250 to 2,500	\$1.85	....	\$0.82	\$3.49
Selected places 250 to 2,500	1.44	\$1.45	0.99	2.52
2,500 to 8,000	2.85	....	1.27	3.73
8,000 to 30,000	3.64	....	2.78	4.72
30,000 to 100,000	5.54	....	4.69	7.07
<i>Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>				
All places 250 to 1,000	1.05	....	0.68	4.03
Selected places 250 to 1,000	0.62	....	0.87	2.00
1,000 to 1,750	1.51	....	0.94	3.18
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ..	1.25	....	1.08	2.58
1,750 to 2,500	3.16	....	1.05	3.42
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ...	2.10	1.81	0.90	2.54

TABLE 36—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR SANITATION, PROMOTION OF CLEANLINESS AND HEALTH BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN FOUR STATES, 1922

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>Iowa</i>	<i>California</i>
<i>Incorporated Places, Less than 100,000 Population</i>				
All places less than 250 .....	....	....	\$0.08	....
250 to 2,500	\$0.85	....	0.91	\$1.22
Selected places 250 to 2,500	0.59	\$0.73	0.45	1.07
2,500 to 8,000	1.18	....	0.95	1.56
8,000 to 30,000	1.76	....	1.37	1.56
30,000 to 100,000	3.30	....	1.49	3.02

TABLE 36—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR SANITATION, PROMOTION OF CLEANLINESS AND HEALTH BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN FOUR STATES, 1922—(Continued)

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500</i>	<i>Wisconsin Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500</i>	<i>Iowa Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500</i>	<i>California Population</i>
All places 250 to 1,000	\$0.40	....	\$1.21	\$1.27
Selected places 250 to 1,000	0.61	....	....	0.50
1,000 to 1,750	0.47	....	0.60	1.19
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ..	0.61	\$0.45	0.82	1.33
1,750 to 2,500	1.82	....	0.41	1.20
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ...	0.54	1.14	0.03	0.93

TABLE 37—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN THREE STATES, 1922 *

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York † Incorporated Places, Less Than 100,000</i>	<i>Wisconsin Incorporated Places, Less Than 100,000</i>	<i>California Population</i>
All places 250 to 2,500	\$ 0.10	....	\$0.50
Selected places 250 to 2,500	0.08	\$0.71	0.47
2,500 to 8,000	0.22	....	1.00
8,000 to 30,000	11.87	....	1.53
30,000 to 100,000	13.63	....	2.11
<i>Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>			
All places 250 to 1,000	0.04	....	0.22
Selected places 250 to 1,000	0.09	....	0.74
1,000 to 1,750	0.16	....	0.38
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ..	0.05	0.65	0.04
1,750 to 2,500	0.08	....	0.83
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ..	0.12	0.78	0.79

* Expenses for libraries in Iowa are listed under the head of "Municipal Industries."

† For places with a population over 8,000 expenditures of local boards subordinated to the state board of education are combined with expenditures of the municipalities. See *State of New York Special Report on Municipal Accounts: 1922*, p. 13.

TABLE 38—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR RECREATION BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN THREE STATES, 1922 *

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York Incorporated Places, Less Than 100,000</i>	<i>Wisconsin Incorporated Places, Less Than 100,000</i>	<i>California Population</i>
All places 250 to 2,500	\$0.15	....	\$0.46
Selected places 250 to 2,500	0.43	\$0.34	0.64
2,500 to 8,000	0.14	....	0.92
8,000 to 30,000	0.30	....	1.17
30,000 to 100,000	0.68	....	2.22
<i>Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>			
All places 250 to 1,000	0.10	....	0.33
Selected places 250 to 1,000 ....	....	....	0.10
1,000 to 1,750	0.15	....	0.38
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ..	0.67	0.34	0.13
1,750 to 2,500	0.22	....	0.66
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ..	0.35	0.32	1.14

* Expenses for parks and bathing beaches are listed in Iowa under the head of "Municipal Industries."

TABLE 39—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN THREE STATES, 1922 *

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>California</i>
<i>Incorporated Places, Less Than 100,000 Population</i>			
All places 250 to 2,500 .....	....	\$0.11	\$0.01
Selected places 250 to 2,500 ....	....	....	....
2,500 to 8,000 .....	....	....	0.03
8,000 to 30,000	\$0.87	....	0.10
30,000 to 100,000	1.43	....	0.29
<i>Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>			
All places 250 to 1,000 .....	....	....	0.01
1,000 to 1,750 .....	....	....	0.01
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ..	....	0.03	....
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ..	....	0.23	....

* No data for Iowa municipalities.

TABLE 40—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR HIGHWAYS BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN FOUR STATES, 1922

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>Iowa</i>	<i>California</i>
<i>Incorporated Places, Less Than 100,000 Population</i>				
All places less than 250 .....	....	....	\$2.89	....
250 to 2,500	\$5.18	....	3.43	\$5.31
Selected places 250 to 2,500	5.47	\$5.43	2.42	3.22
2,500 to 8,000	4.50	....	5.21	4.65
8,000 to 30,000	3.24	....	5.34	4.26
30,000 to 100,000	3.09	....	6.87	4.11
<i>Incorporated places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>				
All places 250 to 1,000	4.86	....	3.07	6.74
Selected places 250 to 1,000	4.06	....	3.35	2.03
1,000 to 1,750	5.35	....	3.28	4.50
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ...	7.83	3.09	2.19	2.65
1,750 to 2,500	5.32	....	5.05	5.12
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ...	3.18	8.78	1.35	3.86

TABLE 41—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN THREE STATES, 1922 *

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>California</i>
<i>Incorporated Places, Less Than 100,000 Population</i>			
All places 250 to 2,500	\$ 5.68	....	\$9.31
Selected places 250 to 2,500	7.30	\$6.37	11.81
2,500 to 8,000	4.89	....	10.28
8,000 to 30,000	8.69	....	7.92
30,000 to 100,000	15.92	....	9.70

* Expenditures for permanent improvements in Iowa are not separated from current expenses.

TABLE 41—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN THREE STATES, 1922—(Continued)

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>California</i>
	<i>Incorporated Places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>		
All places 250 to 1,000	\$ 5.23	....	\$10.75
Selected places 250 to 1,000	25.00	....	0.12
1,000 to 1,750	4.83	....	8.57
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ..	3.89	\$ 2.53	7.26
1,750 to 2,500	7.17	....	9.04
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ..	2.34	11.92	17.18

TABLE 42—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR INTEREST ON DEBT OR CURRENT FINANCIAL EXPENSES BY MUNICIPALITIES, IN FOUR STATES, 1922

<i>Size of Municipality</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Wisconsin</i>	<i>Iowa*</i>	<i>California</i>
	<i>Incorporated Places, Less Than 100,000 Population</i>			
All places 250 to 2,500	\$1.24	....	\$4.59	\$3.01
Selected places 250 to 2,500	1.29	\$1.39	3.77	2.06
All places 2,500 to 8,000	1.79	....	3.00	2.35
8,000 to 30,000	2.39	....	1.88	2.32
30,000 to 100,000	2.76	....	3.12	2.88
	<i>Incorporated places, 250 to 2,500 Population</i>			
All places 250 to 1,000	0.91	....	2.34	3.45
Selected places 250 to 1,000	1.75	....	4.43	1.77
1,000 to 1,750	1.33	....	9.56	2.53
Selected places 1,000 to 1,750 ...	1.04	0.52	3.89	1.42
1,750 to 2,500	1.51	....	4.10	3.21
Selected places 1,750 to 2,500 ...	2.65	1.37	1.99	2.64

* The expenditures for Iowa under this head represent the excess of money outgo in connection with repayment of bonds and payment of interest over money income listed as "Bond Receipts."

APPENDIX E

INDICES USED IN MEASURING VARIATIONS IN VILLAGE WEALTH

Village	Full Value of Property (in \$1,000)	Households	Wealth Per Household (in \$10)	Wealth Per Capita	Value of Land and Improvements Per Acre	Local Bank Deposits (in \$1,000)	Per Cent. of Homes Rented	Per Cent. of Males 45-65 Gainfully Employed	Per Cent. Married Women Gainfully Employed	Per Cent. Ratio Village High School to Village Children in Grades	Grade School Teachers' Salary Per Pupil	Grade School Teachers Per Pupil	Per Cent. of Males 21 Years and Over Who Join Church	Number of Church-Members 21 Years of Age and Over	Per Cent. Ratio of actual to Potential Church-Membership (White Protestant)	Per Capita Expenditures for Church Benevolences	Minister's Salary Per Active Member	Ratio of Attendance to Membership in Fraternal Organizations *	Ratio of Attendance to Membership in Village Protestant Churches †	
Grass Lake, Mich.	943	227	\$415	\$1,267	\$89.00	\$253	30.8	37.9	8.3	39.0	\$46.3	24.4	22.6	101	23.6	\$3.8	\$11.7	.50	5.13	
Nashville, Mich.	1,779	424	420	1,227	102.50	1,431	22.4	37.0	7.9	30.7	21.4	51.1	22.6	101	23.6	8.4	11.6	1.71	5.83	
Ovid, Mich.	1,017	374	272	953	121.00	497	23.8	32.2	7.6	31.5	44.6	26.0	29.0	97	33.0	7.1	12.5	1.33	4.33	
Scottville, Mich.	1,415	295	480	1,286	84.00	701	37.6	37.5	7.6	23.8	31.5	35.4	22.7	74	18.4	4.2	10.6	1.24	3.53	
Argos, Ind.	1,420	348	408	1,364	172.00	453	33.6	48.5	4.4	41.2	22.9	42.4	32.1	108	38.4	4.6	7.9	1.76	3.14	
Centerville, Ind.	857	289	296	850	178.00	162	32.2	44.3	..	23.9	21.8	40.6	23.8	76	29.8	1.9	8.7	1.45	3.98	
Flora, Ind.	1,709	446	383	1,152	233.00	961	37.2	29.5	8.7	34.9	39.7	27.9	..	..	..	5.1	8.6	1.16	4.51
Fowler, Ind.	2,483	390	637	1,722	258.00	1,038	33.8	31.8	2.7	..	..	..	42.9	200	36.4	5.6	11.2	1.60	5.03
Liberty, Ind.	1,991	452	440	1,546	171.00	1,186	32.5	42.3	9.9	19.9	48.0	24.8	48.3	216	..	8.7	9.5	1.16	3.73	
Arcadia, Wis.	1,640	368	446	1,156	99.00	1,251	28.5	24.3	2.3	28.2	..	..	..	..	51.3	5.9	5.9	.90	4.14
Barron, Wis.	1,820	413	441	1,059	142.50	1,221	26.2	37.5	7.7	27.8	33.2	29.7	38.3	192	34.9	3.9	5.0	1.50	2.52	
Elkhorn, Wis.	3,440	557	618	1,571	191.00	1,934	32.1	30.9	..	..	28.9	41.7	47.4	343	37.2	5.3	11.2	1.16	5.47
Fennimore, Wis.	2,161	387	558	1,564	135.00	1,509	23.5	23.8	6.5	46.4	39.6	25.1	..	..	44.3	7.0	7.4	1.30	4.05
Medford, Wis.	2,086	449	465	1,109	102.50	1,040	35.4	44.6	1.8	37.0	36.3	28.4	..	..	..	1.3	7.8	.79	2.94
Mount Horeb, Wis.	2,830	391	724	1,887	179.00	1,288	17.9	16.1	2.1	39.4	40.6	27.9	..	..	..	7.0	3.7	.97	4.72
Waupaca, Wis.	3,927	790	497	1,383	107.00	1,413	36.2	31.5	5.5	32.2	26.3	42.1	37.6	314	30.3	5.2	7.6	1.76	4.53	
Eureka, Ill.	1,179	427	276	756	..	971	29.5	39.9	..	..	36.1	31.8	..	..	..	7.9	5.6	1.20	4.26
Granville, Ill.	1,040	324	321	729	..	685	38.9	39.7	..	..	21.2	45.1	20.9	77	16.3	3.8	13.2	1.79	4.49
Metamora, Ill.	780	175	445	1,141	..	307	26.9	32.9	1.9	..	..	..	..	..	18.3	..	17.1	1.10	2.57
Milford, Ill.	1.39	3.89
Oregon, Ill.	2,627	616	427	1,180	169.00	1,295	41.6	40.8	8.3	25.8	26.8	42.3	40.6	292	30.3	7.8	15.0	.97	5.39	
West Salem, Ill.	760	282	270	782	97.00	471	23.0	36.3	2.7	..	20.8	33.8	..	..	..	4.1	8.2	2.43	7.17
Blackduck, Minn.	340	187	182	400	29.00	311	45.5	44.3	..	23.1	28.5	41.0	..	..	..	.8	9.8	2.60	5.58

Elk River, Minn.	1,026	266	386	1,026	89.00	743	28.9	33.0	6.3	....	28.8	36.0	31.3	102	27.3	3.8	13.7	2.66	5.64
Litchfield, Minn.	3,643	764	477	1,278	139.00	4,271	28.9	27.9	6.6	32.2	35.1	31.3	53.9	403	37.5	8.6	9.0	1.49	5.49
Wells, Minn.	1,854	496	374	926	195.00	....	31.7	22.5	1.5	27.3	40.8	29.5	....	...	35.9	4.8	6.7	1.13	4.80
Windom, Minn.	2,985	506	590	1,357	154.00	2,309	27.3	37.1	3.3	....	32.2	34.8	39.3	269	35.2	8.9	11.4	1.69	5.03
Alta, Ia.	1,535	399	385	1,190	....	814	35.1	25.8	3.2	38.1	48.0	24.2	37.1	156	43.6	7.3	6.3	.83	2.75
Battle Creek, Ia.	....	...	...	....	....	....	....	....	...	...	....	....	....	...	....	....	....	.92	3.33
Buffalo Center, Ia.	1,188	214	555	1,329	248.00	753	28.0	26.0	1.7	30.3	31.8	33.9	41.1	111	32.0	4.9	12.0	....	....
Bussey, Ia.	787	167	471	1,345	185.00	396	33.5	41.1	3.0	29.4	25.7	34.1	....	...	....	2.3	16.4	.48	3.38
Corning, Ia.	2,951	531	556	1,604	213.00	1,679	29.2	28.8	7.3	44.9	47.5	23.1	37.4	222	39.9	11.9	8.7	1.79	4.00
Grundy Center, Ia.	3,041	480	634	1,690	308.00	1,718	34.0	28.8	4.5	37.7	35.8	32.3	45.3	252	43.4	8.9	11.6	1.94	7.27
La Porte City, Ia.	2,348	445	528	1,627	273.00	891	30.8	14.5	3.8	36.9	34.9	31.0	30.2	137	35.1	3.1	10.9	1.46	4.24
Marathon, Ia.	789	152	519	1,517	....	435	28.3	34.1	1.6	25.3	39.3	27.2	26.5	44	43.5	8.5	7.4	1.63	3.38
Movie, Ia. ....	....	...	...	....	....	....	....	....	...	....	....	....	....	...	....	...	....	1.05	4.04
Strawberry Point, Ia.	1,829	323	566	1,525	175.00	1,258	27.2	8.8	3.4	54.5	47.6	21.9	45.7	172	34.5	6.5	10.1	.90	3.74
Winfield, Ia. ....	....	...	...	....	....	....	....	....	...	....	....	....	....	...	....	...	....	1.52	4.05
East Prairie, Mo.	985	273	361	698	168.00	269	41.0	42.0	9.4	18.7	10.8	58.0	24.7	91	25.1	1.5	5.5	1.55	4.87
Hardin, Mo. ....	....	...	...	....	....	....	....	....	...	....	....	....	....	...	....	...	....	1.39	7.17
Lathrop, Mo.	1,500	338	444	1,364	218.00	403	33.7	41.1	6.3	32.2	40.1	25.0	25.6	123	42.9	7.4	10.5	.43	5.39
Puxico, Mo.	600	232	259	684	101.00	364	53.4	45.9	...	21.1	14.6	53.5	19.5	50	19.0	4.2	12.9	....	....
Warrenton, Mo. .	907	231	393	1,134	48.00	845	42.9	34.5	2.2	....	....	....	....	...	....	4.6	5.3	1.66	6.02
Casselton, N. D. .	1,923	341	564	1,250	116.00	901	41.3	31.1	6.9	31.8	35.8	34.2	21.3	96	18.0	3.9	13.9	1.60	4.26
Grafton, N. D. .	2,738	502	545	1,090	90.00	1,985	29.1	27.4	5.1	47.7	45.7	25.0	....	...	31.6	2.8	6.8	1.62	3.38
Mayville, N. D. .	1,355	267	507	1,113	99.00	1,010	33.0	35.7	2.9	31.0	37.6	30.4	....	...	....	...	....	....	....
Oakes, N. D.	1,808	376	481	1,104	86.00	498	40.2	42.3	...	24.7	36.6	31.6	37.7	194	26.5	4.8	16.1	1.19	4.90
Fairfield, Nebr. .	940	238	395	1,203	156.00	503	28.6	36.0	9.7	....	30.9	29.8	38.4	96	39.1	3.3	11.5	1.06	7.22
Geneva, Nebr.	2,964	511	580	1,677	196.00	1,387	32.9	34.9	7.9	....	34.8	28.6	....	...	44.4	3.6	7.8	1.40	4.82
Humboldt, Nebr. .	1,615	378	427	1,265	219.00	870	34.4	37.1	4.2	29.8	28.2	34.3	32.3	129	38.6	5.6	11.3	1.38	6.59
Stromsburg, Nebr.	1,991	411	484	1,457	261.00	1,479	25.8	26.4	3.0	....	34.6	28.9	....	...	....	7.2	....	.68	4.62
Walthill, Nebr. .	951	266	357	830	216.00	326	36.8	37.4	6.2	18.9	23.0	47.0	19.9	63	....	1.1	17.3	1.35	5.22
Weeping Water, Nebr.	1,637	301	544	1,511	250.00	574	33.9	37.3	9.0	44.3	27.9	30.9	35.9	121	40.1	4.1	12.2	2.28	4.72
Cheney, Kans.	615	179	344	968	126.00	281	28.5	40.5	...	35.1	28.2	38.3	....	...	45.1	3.3	8.6	1.49	4.97
Clearwater, Kans.	797	193	413	1,236	126.00	245	24.4	42.0	8.3	32.1	40.2	28.6	42.2	87	45.4	4.3	14.2	2.72	6.80
Inman, Kans.	806	133	606	1,673	126.00	399	27.1	22.7	1.0	50.0	....	....	35.6	52	28.4	3.9	8.5	1.97	6.17
Marion, Kans.	2,317	519	446	1,202	131.00	737	37.0	37.0	8.9	44.9	29.5	36.1	46.3	266	43.4	7.4	10.4	.85	6.49
Mount Hope, Kans.	650	178	365	1,268	151.00	288	24.2	25.4	...	47.6	28.0	34.4	35.5	59	47.2	3.6	12.1	2.06	6.40
Mulvane, Kans. .	1,958	349	561	1,581	134.00	543	....	31.5	6.0	36.3	26.7	34.5	....	...	37.9	4.6	8.7	.73	6.16
Oxford, Kans.	822	209	393	1,099	118.00	....	36.4	28.9	2.3	47.3	31.5	29.4	37.3	84	37.6	1.0	13.5	1.35	7.03

* Perfect attendance at each meeting of a fraternal organization would give an index of 4.

† This index number shows the average number of services attended by each church-member out of a possible total of eight during the month.

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